

Illuminations in the Robert Lehman Collection

SANDRA HINDMAN, MIRELLA LEVI D'ANCONA,
PIA PALLADINO, MARIA FRANCESCA SAFFIOTTI



The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Robert Lehman Collection

IV

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Preface and Acknowledgments

The miniatures and cuttings from medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts in the Robert Lehman Collection constitute a small but choice representation of the major schools of illumination that flourished in Europe from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Assembled by Robert Lehman throughout his life, these objects can be understood only if seen in the context of the history of collecting, a subject that has recently received considerable attention. Sandra Hindman has addressed herself to this issue in the essay that follows.

Robert Lehman must have considered illuminations above all an extension of his great collection of early Italian and early Netherlandish paintings. (The early Italian paintings were catalogued by John Pope-Hennessy and Laurence B. Kanter in Volume I of this series, published in 1987; Volume II, which will treat the early Netherlandish paintings, is scheduled for publication in 1998.) They manifest the breadth and intensity of the special interest in early European art that also led him to collect exceptional Netherlandish and German drawings of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (works by Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer, Rogier van der Weyden, and the school of Brussels, for example, which will be catalogued in Volume VII).

Among the French illuminations in the collection the highlights include *The Right Hand of God Protecting the Faithful Against the Demons* (No. 4) from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, painted by Jean Fouquet, and *The Holy Virgins Entering Paradise* by Simon Marmion (No. 8). Particularly notable among the Italian miniatures is the Lorenzo Monaco *Last Judgment* (No. 21). The *Self-portrait* by Simon Bening (No. 14); the *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Francesco Marmitta (No. 27), with accompanying sixteenth-century papal provenance; and the signed *Virgin and Child Enthroned Between Saints Catherine and Cecilia* by Francesco Morone (No. 25), which was once in the collection of William Young Ottley, are included here rather than in the catalogues of the Italian and Netherlandish paintings (Volumes I and II) as examples of the emancipation of illumination as an independent art.

This volume's component manuscripts, written by four authors, were completed over a period of many years, and their evolution and authorship require a word of comment. The manuscripts for both sections of the catalogue – Northern Europe and Italy – were provisionally completed in 1986–87 but could not be published at that time for various reasons, among them the publication schedules of other volumes in the series. From 1986 to 1990 Mirella Levi D'Ancona sent additions and revisions to her text, and in 1994 Sandra Hindman updated certain sections of her manuscript. All of these developments delayed the publication of the catalogue, but improved it in the long run. The work of editing the Italian section to conform it to the other volumes in the series was carried out in New York by Maria Francesca P. Saffiotti, a doctoral

candidate at the Institute of Fine Arts. To adjust the text to the style and aims of the series, several entries required complete revision. Pia Palladino, Research Associate in the Robert Lehman Collection, agreed to take on this task. These authors contributed other valuable new insights and, in the process, rewrote some of the entries. The catalogue thus represents the work of authors who devoted their time and efforts to the project in sequence, rather than in simultaneous collaboration.

By their nature, catalogue entries are a mixture of judicious reformulation of known data and new insights. One acts as a vital complement to the other. Although the individual contributions on both levels by three scholars – Levi D’Ancona, Palladino, and Saffiotti – became difficult to separate in many cases, each of them requires recognition. For that reason, the initials of the principal contributor or contributors have been placed under each entry. These initials are intended to emphasize and credit individual contributions, although individuals not designated may also have played a role in the evolution of a given entry.

Mirella Levi D’Ancona, the dean of historians of Italian manuscript illumination in this country, devoted her experience and ingenuity to the first version of the catalogue of the Italian miniatures, small in number, but of major significance because of their historical merit and great quality. The remarkably fine illuminations of the northern European schools were catalogued by Sandra Hindman. From the beginning, she analyzed these objects with authority, perspicacity, and patience. The longer time available for both manuscripts provided an opportunity for further research and, consequently, enhancement of the volume.

Finally, the contributions of others must be acknowledged as well. Laurence B. Kanter, Curator of the Robert Lehman Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and his staff, notably Manus Gallagher, are to be thanked for their help not only with this volume but with others in the series. Corrections and additions of a bibliographic, iconographic, historic, and technical nature also helped to shape this catalogue. Sue Potter, editor of the series at the Metropolitan Museum, is grateful for the expert and able work of Jean Wagner, Bruce Campbell, Richard Bonk, and Mary W. Smith. Margaret Lawson of the Paper Conservation Department at the Metropolitan Museum generously provided advice on the condition of the illuminations. Research assistants Ronda Kasl, David Nishimura, Marjorie Wieseman, and others at the Institute of Fine Arts, among them Stefanie de Boer and Kathy Heins, made valuable contributions.

In writing her catalogue entries Sandra Hindman relied on the assistance of numerous individuals, and she wishes to thank especially François Avril, Nicole Reynaud, Eberhard König, James Marrow, Christopher de Hamel, Janet Backhouse, Judith Testa, Maryan Ainsworth, Thomas Kren, Elizabeth Burin, and Lynn Jacobs. The same is true of Mirella Levi d’Ancona’s text; she is particularly grateful to Michele Kidwell, Valdina Koller, Sandra Sider, and Luigi Samarati. Others who provided information or assistance are mentioned in the individual entries.

The shared authorship of this volume is responsible for its unquestionable quality. The insights and commitment of all involved have made it a scholarly publication of great importance. It does justice to Robert Lehman as a collector as well as to the works of art herein catalogued. As with previous volumes in the Robert Lehman Collection Scholarly Catalogue, this one owes its publication above all to the enlightened planning of the Robert Lehman Foundation and the unfailing cooperation of the Foundation's Secretary, Paul C. Guth.

Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann

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Coordinator of the Robert Lehman Collection Scholarly Catalogue Project

NOTE TO THE READER

Within each of the two sections of the catalogue, the entries are arranged first by region and then chronologically. Unless otherwise indicated, the illuminations in the Robert Lehman Collection have been reproduced actual size. Measurements have been taken through the center. Height precedes width. "Inscription" and "inscribed" refer to comments, notes, words, and numbers presumably written by the artist who made the illumination; "annotation" and "annotated" refer to the same when added by another hand. In the provenance sections, names and locations of dealers are enclosed in brackets. References to books and articles have been abbreviated to the author's name and the date of publication, and references to exhibitions and their catalogues have been abbreviated to city and year. The key to these abbreviations is found on pages 199–225.

Illuminations and the “Art of Painting”

Illuminated Miniature Paintings are “highly important for the illustration of the Art of Painting in Italy during the fifteenth and following centuries.”

—William Young Ottley, *Celotti sale catalogue*, 1825

To provide a context for the catalogue entries that follow on the choice selection of illuminations from Robert Lehman’s collection, it is useful to reconstruct aspects of the history of collecting single leaves and cuttings. Separate illuminations have begun to be studied by many scholars. Wieck, Voelkle, De Hamel, Watson, and Hindman, among others, have pointed out that the earliest instances of single leaves date as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ Single illuminations, framed and hung on walls in domestic interiors, occasionally appear in works by Simon Bening and other related Bruges artists (see No. 11).² Some such independent paintings on parchment, of which Robert Lehman’s fine *Self-portrait* by Simon Bening (No. 14) is an example, seem also to have been glazed, like panel paintings in oil, and treated rather like limnings from the English court.³

Several single illuminations, part of a Book of Hours commissioned in 1490 by Bona of Savoy, widow of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza, were stolen from the workshop of Giovanni Pietro Birago in Milan before the artist could deliver them to his patron. The thief, one Fra Gian Jacopo, was punished, but the purloined leaves were not recovered, and they soon turned up in the possession of Giovanni Maria Sforzino, Galeazzo’s half-brother. Only three of the illuminations, two of them glazed, have since come to light.⁴ Many other very early examples of material excised from manuscripts – single leaves and figural or ornamental cuttings – have been uncovered. In the sixteenth century the nuns of Syon and Poissy cut out initials from thirteenth-century manuscripts to ornament their productions.⁵ This practice may have been more widespread than has previously been believed.⁶ De Hamel cites numerous largely anecdotal occurrences of “cutting up manuscripts,” in 1536, 1560, 1640, 1716, 1820, and nearly all the way up to the present day, in Cambridge, Durham, Winchester, Zwolle, and elsewhere.⁷ Some of these cuttings, among them miniatures snipped from the Zwolle Bible as souvenirs by visitors to that monastery in the Netherlands, have resurfaced.⁸

These examples help round out the prehistory of the appreciation of detached manuscript leaves and cuttings, but they actually have little bearing on the kind of collecting we can associate with Robert Lehman, whose practiced eye often led him to acquire illuminations that were most like independent easel paintings of high artistic merit. The first historical instance of this sort of appreciation that we are aware of, with the possible exception of the Birago theft (the motive for which remains unclear), is the album of excised illuminations, the majority of them by the great Flemish illuminator Simon Bening, that was compiled by Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545),

presumably because Bening was already so highly prized, and thus collectable, as a painter.⁹

It was not until the late eighteenth century, however, spurred by circumstances surrounding the French Revolution, that collecting illuminations came of age.¹⁰ In fact, the terms “vandal” and “vandalism” used to refer to the destruction of cultural property were neologisms at the time of the French Revolution.¹¹ In France just about this time, certainly by 1806, the Hours of Étienne Chevalier was dismantled. Its illuminations, by the celebrated Jean Fouquet (ca. 1415/20–1478/81), were mounted on wood, and on the pages where bits of text accompanied the picture, the writing was cleverly covered over with initials cut from other manuscripts. Some thirty leaves were framed like little paintings by an establishment of high-class framers in Paris, and they were quickly sold through a Swiss dealer and minor artist, Peter Birmann, for very high prices, first to Georg Brentano in Frankfurt, and then to the duke of Aumale, which is how they ended up in Chantilly at the Musée Condé. About eight other illuminations from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier later came to light, mostly in England, suggesting that the original manuscript may have been divided between Birmann and another, perhaps English, dealer. Robert Lehman acquired his exquisite *Right Hand of God Protecting the Faithful Against the Demons* (No. 4) from this manuscript at auction in London in 1946.

It was also in London, more than a century earlier, that the demand for excised illuminations as art really took off. The occasion was the first-ever sale of cuttings, held at Christie’s on 26 May 1825 and organized by that shadowy figure the curate turned dealer Abate Luigi Celotti (ca. 1768–ca. 1846).¹² The sale, 97 lots comprising more than 200 illuminations, featured a catalogue written by one of the new breed of art historian-connoisseur-collectors, William Young Ottley (1771–1836),¹³ who explained in the preface (brazenly called an “Advertisement”) that

these specimens are, in many cases, found in a more perfect state of preservation than the frescoes and other large works of painting remaining to us of the same periods. To this it may be added, that the processes which were resorted to by the ancient Illuminists, in preparing and laying on the different metals used in decorating their paintings, and in mixing their colours, have long ceased to be remembered; so that whatever performances of this kind now remain to us, merit also our regard as the *monuments of a lost Art*.

The title page further pronounced the illuminations to be “highly important for the illustration of the Art of Painting in Italy during the fifteenth and following centuries,” and it pointed out that they came from the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, where they were looted by Napoleon’s troops in 1798, cleverly implying that prospective buyers could participate, along with Celotti himself, in their rescue and, in so doing, defend against French Republicanism. Munby alerts us to another, more practical reason that dealers like Celotti brought home only the salable painted initials and strips of borders from large choir books: anyone importing books made before 1801 to England from the continent had to pay a stiff import duty levied by hundredweight.¹⁴

Illuminations in the second, more important, part of the Celotti sale were grouped under the names of the great popes for whom the artists worked. These were the illuminations, many made into collages, by Giulio Clovio (whom Vasari had called “Michelangelo in miniature”), Appolonius Bonfratelli, and others, that fetched the highest prices, prices in line with those paid for paintings “of the age of mastery,” that is, the High Renaissance.¹⁵ It is not at all surprising that Robert Lehman was to acquire an illumination that passed through this famous sale,¹⁶ since he represents a strain of American collector who could claim direct lineage from the early market for miniatures as paintings exemplified by the sale.¹⁷ Nor is it surprising to find that picture dealers, rather than antiquarian book dealers, bought heavily at the Celotti sale.

One enthusiastic buyer at the Celotti sale was William Young Ottley himself. Ottley, keeper of prints at the British Museum, was to amass more than a thousand illuminations, which he kept in portfolios. His collection of “Miniature Paintings,” sold at Sotheby’s on 11 May 1838 in 244 lots, supplied generations of collectors, Robert Lehman included. Unlike the Celotti sale, which capitalized on High Renaissance aesthetics, the Ottley sale included many much earlier illuminations, or “Primitives,” exhibiting a taste that was still ahead of its time in 1838 but that became more up-to-date after mid-century. (Speaking of “Primitives,” Ottley exclaimed to Dr. Gustav Friedrich Waagen [1794–1868] during a pre-dinner viewing at home, “Nobody has paid so much attention to them as myself.”)¹⁸ The Scottish antiquarian and “discoverer” of Piero della Francesca, James Dennistoun (1803–1855), another collector who preferred “Primitives,”¹⁹ was called on to give advice to London’s National Gallery in 1853, when the museum finally decided to buy “specimens” of earlier art to supplement its holdings in High Renaissance paintings, having adamantly rejected this policy of acquisition only a few decades earlier, with the bold statement by Sir Robert Peel, “I think we should not collect curiosities.”²⁰ Dennistoun collected his cuttings in an album that was eventually, in 1930, acquired by the well-known art historian Sir Kenneth Clark (1903–1983) and was dispersed at auction at Sotheby’s in London on 3 July 1984. Revealing a comparable taste for “Primitives,” Robert Lehman at one time owned at least ten illuminations from Ottley’s collection (see No. 25, an important signed painting on parchment by Francesco Morone).²¹

In the wake of the Celotti and Ottley sales, Europe saw the emergence of at least two very different breeds of collectors of illuminations. One group, not of interest here except to provide a context that sets off the other group, consisted primarily of bibliophiles like the Reverend Walter Sneyd (1809–1888), Francis Douce (1757–1834), Baron James de Rothschild (1792–1868) and then Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934), John Boykett Jarman (d. 1864), John Ruskin (1819–1900), and Ambroise Firmin-Didot (1790–1876), among others. These individuals formed important libraries in the nineteenth century, and although they bought the occasional illumination, they were above all avid book collectors.²² A second group of Europeans were interested primarily in art. These collectors include the famous poet Samuel Rogers (1763–1855); Lord John Northwick (1769–1859); Frederick, fourth marquess

of Londonderry; Robert Stayner Holford (1808–1892); and Charles Brinsley Marlay (1831–1921). Rogers and Holford are perhaps typical here; each owned important collections of Old Master paintings along with other forms of art, like Egyptian antiquities and sculpture, which provided interior decoration for their majestic homes.²³ Rogers owned one of the Fouquet illuminations, which ended up in the British Library. Works of art, not books, drove their passion for collecting, and individuals like Celotti, then Ottley, had made it possible for them to purchase high-quality illuminations as examples of the “Art of Painting” to complement their other fine arts. Robert Lehman, a half century later, had marked affinities with this latter group. Indeed, he owned illuminations from the collections of Lord Northwick, who bought heavily at the Ottley sale, and the marquess of Londonderry (see No. 13).²⁴

Some of the characteristics that distinguished Robert Lehman, however, become clear when he is compared more closely with other American collectors of illuminations. Many American collectors closer to his generation best fit the profile of the bibliophile outlined above. J. P. Morgan (1837–1913), Henry Walters (1848–1931), and Robert Hoe (1839–1909) developed an interest in illuminations that was secondary to their interest in books as they set out to create on American soil the equivalents of European gentlemanly libraries. Robert Lehman, by contrast, owned but one bound manuscript, a choir book. He also owned several single leaves excised from that volume, but he was never tempted to reintegrate them.²⁵

Robert Lehman also stands out when he is compared with the foremost collectors of single leaves who were his contemporaries, John Frederick Lewis (1860–1932) and Coella Lindsay Ricketts (1860–1941), both of whom collected illuminations largely as adjuncts to the written word. Lewis, whose more than two thousand cuttings, along with a large body of manuscripts, are now housed in the Free Library of Philadelphia, regarded illuminations as an extension of his collection of works on paper, including woodcuts and engravings.²⁶ They were mounted on mats and stored in boxes and drawers. Although it includes some astounding paintings, such as a Sieneese leaf attributed to Lippi Vanni,²⁷ his collection was designed primarily to reconstruct the entire European history of the book and its adornment. How Lewis treated his books, extra-illustrating them with manuscript leaves, as did many nineteenth-century bibliophiles, shows just how different he was from Robert Lehman, whose tastes led him to have a choice selection of the collection framed and mounted on his walls, like paintings. Like Lewis, Ricketts saw the cutting and single leaf as adjuncts to the history of the written word.²⁸ During approximately fifty years of collecting, Ricketts acquired more than a hundred manuscripts and more than a thousand manuscript fragments. An engrosser himself, Ricketts focused on manuscripts that offered examples of calligraphy, and among his manuscript fragments many are more interesting for their decoration, ornamentation, and mise-en-page than for their Art. Even further from Robert Lehman was the American collector Otto F. Ege (1888–1951), who expressed the populist desire that fragments were for thousands of people “to have and to hold,” likewise eschewing art in favor of the written and painted historical example.²⁹ If some examples that

ended up in Robert Lehman's collection (not included here), include text, or music, or less accomplished art, this does not take away from the fact that his good taste and practiced eye led him to acquire a large number of superior illuminations as Art and to prefer them to illuminated books, which apparently held little interest for him.

Sandra Hindman

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NOTES:

1. See De Hamel 1983; Hindman in London–Tokyo–Nagoya 1988–89, pp. 1–10; Hindman and Heinlen 1991, pp. 154–78, 181–82; Voelkle and Wieck in New York 1992–93, especially pp. 13–16; Watson in London 1995; De Hamel 1996; Wieck 1996; and Evanston 1999 (forthcoming). See also Burin 1996; Todini and Bollati 1993–94, vol. 1, pp. 8–10; and, on nineteenth-century England, Munby's important *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850* (1972). The catalogue by Nordenfalk and others of single leaves and cuttings that once belonged to Lessing J. Rosenwald (Washington, D.C. 1975) was the first of its kind in this country, setting a standard for the study of the single leaf that all future work has had to acknowledge.
2. Marrow and Avril 1994.
3. Scaillièrez 1992.
4. Two of the leaves are in the British Library (Add. MSS 45722, 62997), and one is in the Bernard H. Breslauer collection in New York (see Voelkle and Wieck in New York 1992–93, pp. 13, 216, no. 86, colorpl. p. 56).
5. See De Hamel 1996, p. 2.
6. Newberry Library, Chicago, MS 152, is another example, this one from Italy.
7. De Hamel 1996, especially pp. 1–3.
8. For example, Rijksmuseum Catherijneconvent, Utrecht, MS fragm. 45 (New York 1990, p. 245), and sale, Sotheby's, London, 21 June 1994, lot 35 (a cutting from the Zwolle Bible).
9. Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt, Kassel, Math. et art. 50; see Testa 1992b.
10. On the impact of the French Revolution on manuscripts in France, see especially Ladurie 1995.
11. Idzerda 1954, p. 25.
12. On Celotti and many other nineteenth-century manuscript collectors, see De Hamel in London 1985.
13. See "William Young Ottley, Artist and Collector" and "Further Notes on the Young and Ottley Families," *Notes and Queries* 174 (2 April 1938), pp. 236–39, and 175 (5 and 12 November 1938), pp. 326–30, 344–47; and Gere 1953.
14. Munby 1972, p. 65.
15. James Dennistoun, quoted in Hale 1954.
16. De Ricci, p. 1717 (not in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum).
17. See Evanston 1999 (forthcoming), especially chap. 5, "Recuperations."
18. Quoted in Waagen 1838, p. 126.
19. See Brigstocke 1973 and Brigstocke 1978.
20. Quoted in Hale 1954, pp. 157, 161.
21. De Ricci 1937, pp. 1714, 1715 (not in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum).
22. See Wieck 1996 and Hindman in Evanston 1999 (forthcoming). Of special interest here is Ambroise Firmin-Didot, whose sale in Paris in June 1884 (lots 41–98) included more than 259 illuminations, including many decorative initials and nineteenth-century handmade facsimiles.
23. See Rogers sale 1856 and Holford 1924 and Holford 1927.
24. De Ricci 1937, pp. 1715–17 (not in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum).
25. *Ibid.*, p. 1708 (not in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum).
26. Harrsen 1960; Wolf 1937.
27. Free Library of Philadelphia, M 69, fol. 13.
28. Rothschild 1929–30.
29. Ege 1938, p. 518.

NORTHERN EUROPE

Southern Germany or Austria

ca. 1235–50

1. Adoration of the Magi

Leaf from a Psalter

1975.1.2482

Verso(?): blank.

Tempera and gold and silver leaf on parchment. 167 x 131 mm, miniature 137 x 105 mm. Pasted to the verso, a stamp bearing the imprint of the French customs: *DOUANES DE PARIS* (rest of stamp illegible).

The leaf has been trimmed to within a few millimeters of the frame surrounding the miniature, and it has cockled and is now an irregular size, but otherwise it is in general excellently preserved. There are losses of gold leaf at the bottom of the throne, around the feet of the magi, between the two magi at the left, and in the background at the top of the miniature. Underdrawing is apparent in parts of the composition, for instance on the bottom of the throne of the Virgin. The silver on the left and right bands of the frame has oxidized, and some of the gold on the upper and lower bands has flaked. The leaf was treated in the Paper Conservation Department at the Metropolitan Museum in 1984 in order to consolidate the pigments where flaking has occurred, and the pigments are now judged to be stable. At the top, just above the frame, is a row of small, irregular needle holes.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Steinmeyer, Lucerne, 1921(?);¹ [Bernard d'Hendecourt, Paris]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from D'Hendecourt in about 1923.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 154 (as German master, end of the twelfth century);² Cincinnati 1959, no. 336, ill. (as German master, end of the twelfth century).

LITERATURE: Lutze 1931, pp. 71–72 (as Franconia, ca. 1250–60); Swarzenski 1936, pp. 40, 76, 113, 162, no. 92.4, fig. 1044a (as Tirol or central Franconia[?], ca. 1250); De Ricci 1937, p. 1702 (as Franconia or Tirol, late twelfth century).

This leaf representing the Adoration of the Magi has long been recognized as belonging to a set of leaves, totaling eight, that Swarzenski, in 1936, proposed came from a thirteenth-century south German or Austrian Psalter, which he provisionally identified with a manuscript in the Universitätsbibliothek in Innsbruck (Cod. 330).³ Robert Lehman bought all eight of the leaves from Bernard d'Hendecourt, who was Knoedler's representative in Paris, in about 1923. In 1925 he sold three leaves, with miniatures representing the Annunciation, the Deposition, and the Resurrection (Figs. 1.5, 1.9, 1.10), to The Metropolitan Museum of Art (25.204.1–3) and two, with the Nativity and the Ascension (Figs. 1.6, 1.12), to the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

(M.698, M.699). The other two leaves from the set, with representations of the Crucifixion and Pentecost (Figs. 1.7, 1.13), are in a private collection.

Swarzenski offered neither stylistic nor codicological evidence to support his suggestion that these eight leaves were removed from the Innsbruck Psalter. On the basis of an examination of all eight leaves, as well as the Innsbruck Psalter, I am now able to present evidence in support of his hypothesis. As it is now constituted, the Innsbruck manuscript contains 128 folios (measuring 225 x 158 mm; justification 160 x 110 mm) bound in an original, though damaged, binding (Fig. 1.1). The text of the Psalms, in biblical order, occupies folios 1–125r of the manuscript. On folios 125v–126 is a Litany of the Saints, and on the recto of folio 128 is a benediction. The verso of the last folio is blank. The front and back covers of the book are heavy wooden boards, around the outer edges of which are textile remnants woven of white, yellow gold, blue, and rose threads. The painted design visible on the edges of the pages when the book is closed (Fig. 1.2) repeats the design of the cloth on the covers.

In the Innsbruck Psalter the eightfold, or liturgical, division of the Psalms of Roman usage and the threefold division said to be of Irish origin are combined. The Psalter therefore has illuminated initials not only marking the beginnings (at Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, and 109) of the sections of an eight-part Psalter – seven groups of psalms recited at Matins on the seven days of the week and an eighth group recited at Vespers – but also at Psalms 51 and 101, which open the second and third of the three sections of a tripartite Psalter. The initials at Psalms 1, 51, and 101 (Figs. 1.8, 1.11, 1.14) are larger and more elaborately decorated than the other six.

The only other illustrations that remain in the Psalter are two miniatures depicting standing male and female saints (Figs. 1.3, 1.4) that are affixed to the inside front and back covers. The names written in white pigment on the gold ground beside the saints' heads were more legible in 1905, when Hermann recorded them as:



No. 1

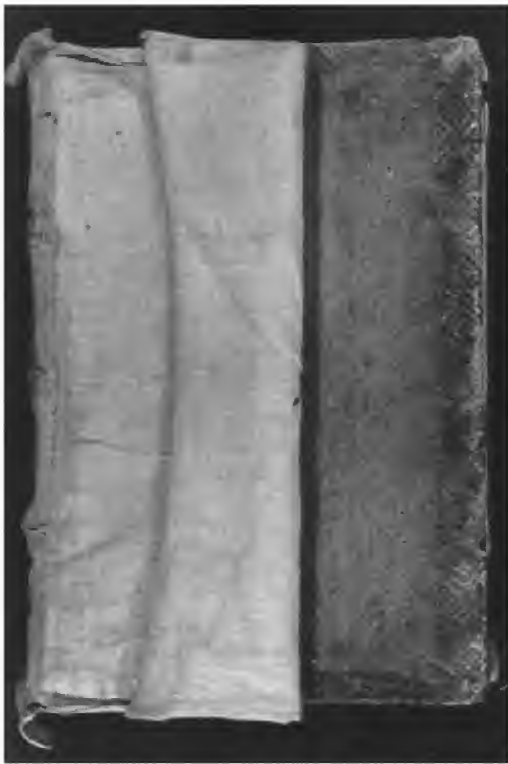


Fig. 1.1 Innsbruck Psalter, front cover.
Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, Cod. 330



Fig. 1.2 Innsbruck Psalter, decoration on edges of
pages. Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, Cod. 330



Fig. 1.3 *Standing Male Saints*. Innsbruck
Psalter, inside front cover. Universitätsbibliothek,
Innsbruck, Cod. 330



Fig. 1.4 *Standing Female Saints*. Innsbruck
Psalter, inside back cover. Universitätsbibliothek,
Innsbruck, Cod. 330

male saints (Fig. 1.3)

top left: S. LIR . . . O

top right: S. VITVS

lower left: S. SA . . . VS

lower right: S. OSWALDVS

female saints (Fig. 1.4)

top left: S. KA(T)HRINA

top right: S. OSN . . . A . . . D

lower left: S. . . . BA (= Barbara?)

lower right: S. EL(ISABETH)⁴

Swarzenski proposed that the miniatures of standing saints once decorated the outer covers of the book, to which they would have been attached with metal strips and nails and covered with transparent horn plates. He supposed that when the miniatures became detached from the outer covers they were simply pasted onto the inner ones. A reexamination of the Innsbruck Psalter proves that the two pastedowns did indeed decorate the original book. The nail holes on the covers and the holes that are still visible across and down the centers of the miniatures, dividing them into four compartments, correspond exactly, and the wormholes in the wooden boards and in the parchment also match. Two Psalters that date to about 1250 – one in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Cod. lat. 2641) that was made in the Cistercian cloister at Aldersbach (see Fig. 1.16)⁵ and another in the Stiftsbibliothek in Melk (Cod. 1833) that was produced in the diocese of Bamberg-Eichstätt⁶ – have bindings composed of horn plates over miniatures.

That the Innsbruck Psalter, like a small group of similarly appointed books that includes the Munich and Melk Psalters, was considered splendid enough to receive illustrations on its covers would suggest that it was intended to be illustrated inside as well.⁷ The close stylistic relationship between the *Standing Saints* on the covers and the set of eight detached leaves reaffirms Swarzenski's original idea that the leaves were removed from the Innsbruck Psalter. In both the cover illustrations and the detached miniatures a predominantly red (or rose), blue, and green palette was used to delineate the figures, which are set against a burnished gold-leaf ground. In addition, certain idiosyncrasies recur in the modeling of the figures: highly arched black eyebrows, red dots on the women's cheeks, noses heavily outlined in black with tips that dip deeply toward mouths composed of two black lines with a dab of red paint between them, necks modeled with concentric red lines, white fingertips, and, on the bearded men, drooping

mustaches. The same latticelike pattern was used for crowns and for borders on draperies, for example on the sleeves of the kings in the *Adoration of the Magi* and the crown of the saint (Oswald) at the lower right in the front cover illustration (Fig. 1.3). The frames on the detached leaves and the cover illustrations were uniformly executed with striations of rose or blue paint inset with wavy white lines. The outer borders of the frames on the detached leaves are embellished with silver (which has oxidized) and gold leaf (which has flaked); a similar effect was undoubtedly achieved by the metal strips applied at those same places on the cover miniatures. The livelier subject matter probably accounts for such slight differences as the more extensive use of orange to define the architectural settings and the greater sense of movement in the miniatures on the detached leaves.

It is thus possible to conclude that the same workshop, if not the same artist, was responsible for the cover illustrations and the detached leaves. This does not, of course, constitute definitive proof that the leaves were removed from the Innsbruck Psalter. But further pieces of evidence, unknown to Swarzenski, help establish the congruity of the leaves and the Psalter.

The Innsbruck Psalter now lacks its Calendar. At present the manuscript contains on its first folio a large painted initial B (for "Beatus vir"; Fig. 1.8) introducing the text of the First Psalm. An examination of the collation of the manuscript, which Swarzenski did not undertake, provides clear evidence that the book is missing leaves at the beginning as well as from two later quires. There is, in fact, a gap between the wooden board of the front cover and the beginning of what is presently the first quire that is sufficient to allow for at least one quire, and remnants of the thread that once attached that quire to the binding have survived. It seems reasonable to suppose that the original first quire would have contained a Calendar. And although Swarzenski reported that all eight detached leaves were blank on their versos, a reexamination of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 1.5) reveals that it has on its verso (which actually must have been its recto) the Calendar for December.

Miniatures most likely filled the other missing pages of the book. The manuscript in Innsbruck contains 128 folios in 16 quires: i–iv⁸ (1–32) + v^{10–3} (33–39; stubs at 2, 9, and 10) + vi–ix⁸ (40–71) + x^{10–3} (72–78; stubs at 3, 8, and 9) + xi–xv⁸ (79–118) + xvi¹⁰ (119–28).⁸ The first four quires are regular quaternions, but the fifth is a quinternion with three stubs that correspond to the second, ninth, and tenth leaves. The presence at the beginning of the sixth quire, introducing Psalm 51, of a



Fig. 1.5 Calendar page for December and *The Annunciation* (leaf from a Psalter, recto and verso). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1925, 25.204.1

large painted initial Q (for “Quid gloriaris”; Fig. 1.11), the third largest in the book, marks the point just before the initial as a likely juncture for an illustration. That no text is missing between the last leaf of the fifth quire and the first leaf of the sixth serves to confirm the hypothesis that two illustrations once filled these pages where only stubs remain. The stub between folios 33 and 34, where no text is missing and no new section of text begins, must have belonged to a canceled leaf that was originally part of a bifolio containing a miniature.

The tenth quire, which is a quinternion with three stubs that correspond to the third, eighth, and ninth leaves, is also irregular. The stub between folios 73 and 74, which because no text is missing must belong to a canceled leaf, is conjoint with the second stub, between folios 77 and 78. The third stub is found before the last leaf of the quire, folio 78, where Psalm 101, which introduces the third part of the Psalter, begins. Psalm 101 is prefaced by a large painted initial D (for “Domine exaudi”; Fig. 1.14) that is comparable in size and decoration to the initial B that opens the book. Because no text is missing between folios 77 and 78, it is likely that these two missing folios contained miniatures. The Innsbruck manuscript thus appears to exemplify a three-part

schema of Psalter decoration that was relatively common in Germany in the thirteenth century, whereby Psalms 1, 51, and 101 were typically prefaced by miniatures.⁹

The presence of the *Annunciation* on the verso of a Calendar leaf (Fig. 1.5) proves that the Innsbruck Psalter had a prefatory cycle of full-page miniatures as well. If we assume that the first quire, like the fifth and the tenth, was a quinternion, then it must have contained at least four full-page miniatures. The Calendar would have occupied seven leaves; it must have begun on a verso and been arranged with consecutive months facing each other in pairs, so that December fell on the recto of the first of the four miniatures, the *Annunciation*.

The script and secondary decoration of the Calendar page, as well as its other physical characteristics, offer final confirmation that the set of miniatures was once part of the Innsbruck Psalter. The Calendar page has nearly the same justification (167 x 113 mm; the last three lines have been trimmed away) as the text of the Psalter (160 x 110 mm), confirming that the miniatures were designed to fill somewhat less space on the page (37 x 105 mm) than the area reserved for the text. Although the same scribe did not write the text of the Calendar and the text of the Psalms (see Figs. 1.5, 1.8,



Fig. 1.6 *The Nativity* (leaf from a Psalter). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.698



Fig. 1.7 *The Crucifixion* (leaf from a Psalter). Private collection



Fig. 1.8 Initial B, Psalm 1. Innsbruck Psalter, fol. 1. Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, Cod. 330

1.11, 1.14, and also Fig. 1.15, which is fol. 126v, from the Litany), the script – a pre-Gothic, late Caroline minuscule practiced through the first half of the thirteenth century in some scriptoria in southern Germany and Austria – is close enough to warrant the conclusion that the two scribes were working around the same time and in the same geographic area.¹⁰ The decorative features of the text pages, particularly the washed initials and the painted frames, offer more telling comparisons. For example, the virtually identical pen scrolls on the initial K at the top of the December page (Fig. 1.5) and the K of the *kyrie eleison* on the Litany page (Fig. 1.15) suggest that the same rubricator worked on both. The alternating bars of green and blue in the frame of the Calendar and in the frames surrounding the large painted initials at Psalms 1, 51, and 101 (Figs. 1.8, 1.11, 1.14) suggest the same decorator.

It seems probable that the set of eight leaves represents the complete cycle of miniatures that, along with the illuminated initials, decorated the Innsbruck Psalter. The curious needle holes in the tops of the Lehman *Adoration of the Magi* and the other leaves suggest that each of the miniatures may have been protected by a flap of cloth woven in a design that matched the design



Fig. 1.9 *The Deposition* (leaf from a Psalter). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1925, 25.204.2



Fig. 1.10 *The Resurrection* (leaf from a Psalter). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1925, 25.204.3



Fig. 1.11 Initial Q, Psalm 51. Innsbruck Psalter, fol. 40. Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, Cod. 330

of the cloth on the cover and the painted design on the edges of the pages. Such decorative flaps, which were used in a few other thirteenth-century Romanesque books, would have further enhanced the harmony of the book's ornamentation.¹¹ The illuminations were very probably arranged in chronological sequence, as follows (see Figs. 1.5–1.14):

	original ms	present ms
<i>Annunciation</i>	i, 7v	n.a.
<i>Nativity</i>	i, 8r	n.a.
<i>Adoration of the Magi</i>	i, 9r	n.a.
<i>Crucifixion</i>	i, 10r	n.a.
Initial B (Psalm 1)	ii, 11r	i, 1r
<i>Deposition</i>	vi, 50	[stub in v, after 39]
<i>Resurrection</i>	vi, 51	[stub in v, after 39]
Initial Q (Psalm 51)	vii, 52	vi, 40
<i>Ascension</i>	xi, 90	[stub in x, after 77]
<i>Pentecost</i>	xi, 91	[stub in x, after 77]
Initial D (Psalm 101)	xi, 92	x, 78

Although this particular grouping of narrative scenes and psalms occurs in no other Psalter I am familiar



Fig. 1.12 *The Ascension* (leaf from a Psalter). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.699



Fig. 1.13 *Pentecost* (leaf from a Psalter). Private collection



Fig. 1.14 Initial D, Psalm 101. Innsbruck Psalter, fol. 78. Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, Cod. 330

with, in both the Munich and Melk Psalters, as well as in a German Psalter now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Liturg. 402),¹² narrative scenes are interspersed throughout the book, rather than being clustered together in a prefatory cycle. The message of the short prefatory cycle of miniatures illustrating the life of Christ – the *Annunciation*, *Nativity*, *Adoration of the Magi*, and *Crucifixion* – conforms to the message of redemption conveyed by more elaborate prefatory cycles in other thirteenth-century Psalters. The *Crucifixion* is a particularly appropriate illustration of Psalm 1:3: “And he shall be like a tree which is planted near the running waters.” I know of no other Psalter in which a miniature of Pentecost, or the Descent of the Holy Spirit, is placed before Psalm 101, but the subject, which evokes the spread of the word of God throughout the lands, seems an apt illustration of Psalm 101:16: “And the Gentiles shall fear thy name, O Lord, and all the kings of the earth thy glory.”

In 1931, basing his proposal on comparisons with the Psalter in Melk (Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1833)¹³ and a Psalter in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 3900) that was produced in Würzburg during the bishopric of Irings von Hohenburg (1254–65),¹⁴ Lutze

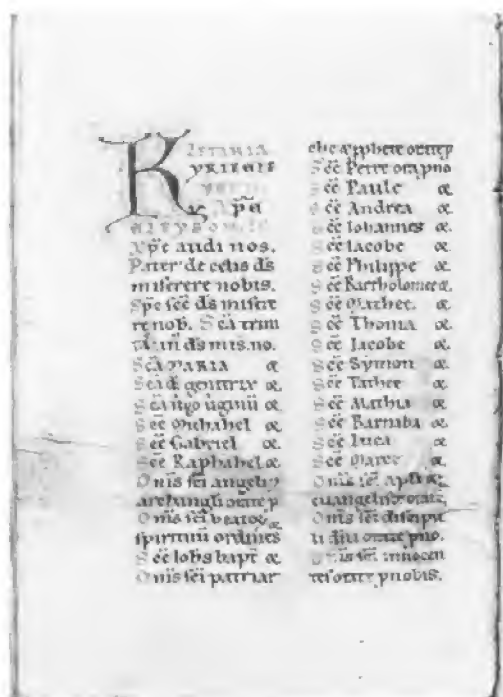


Fig. 1.15 Litany (kyrie eleison). Innsbruck Psalter, fol. 126v. Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, Cod. 330



Fig. 1.16 Psalter bound with horn plates. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. lat. 2641

attributed this group of miniatures to an atelier in central Franconia and dated them to about 1250–60. When Swarzenski published the eight leaves along with the Innsbruck Psalter in 1936 he tentatively attributed them to either the Tirol or central Franconia and dated them to about 1250. He also said that the leaves, and perhaps also the Innsbruck Psalter, were purportedly from the Premonstratensian monastery at Wilten, near Innsbruck. De Ricci gave the same attribution and provenance for the leaves in 1937, although he dated them to the late twelfth rather than the thirteenth century.¹⁵

It seems unlikely that the leaves are from Wilten, unless they made their way there at a relatively late date, after they were detached from the Innsbruck Psalter. According to Sieglinde Sepp, Wilten books can be identified by the presence of an old signature on the back flyleaf, a signature in a white tint on a red ground on the lower field of the back cover, the collector's mark *Ecclesia Wilthinensis* on the first leaves of the book, or all three.¹⁶ The Innsbruck Psalter has none of these marks. Both Hermann, in 1905, and Swarzenski, in 1936, reported that the Psalter was supposedly part of the court library of Archdukes Sigismund Franz and

Ferdinand Karl, which was housed in the Wappenturm in Innsbruck.¹⁷ This seems plausible, as many of the books in the Universitätsbibliothek came from that collection. Swarzenski also noted that the presence of Saints Emmeram, Udalricus, Corbinian, Erhard, Rupert, and Elizabeth in the Psalter's Litany points to the diocese of Salzburg-Brixen and a date after 1235. He compared both the decorative forms of the initials and the Italo-Byzantine style of the *Standing Saints* paste-downs to works executed in Regensburg and the initials to a Salzburg Lectionary now in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (theol. lat. fol. 52).¹⁸ He further noted that the iconography of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 1.5) corresponds to that in a wall painting from Prüll, near Regensburg.¹⁹

The similarities between the Innsbruck Psalter and those in Munich (Cod. lat. 2641) and Melk (Cod. 1833) lend further credence to Lutze's original proposal that the Innsbruck Psalter was produced in central Franconia. The reconstructed Innsbruck manuscript should also be compared to a group of three miniatures detached from a Psalter dated about 1255 from a cloister in central Franconia (Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva, lat. 31 bis),²⁰ sixteen leaves detached from a Lectionary dated about 1240 (British Library, London, Add. MS

17687),²¹ and a Psalter that was in the library of the princes Öttingen-Wallerstein in Maihingen (I.2.4^o24; now in the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg) and that Swarzenski attributed to the Würzburg-Eichstätt diocese and dated after 1255.²² The use in the Innsbruck Psalter of an archaic script that still preserves features of Caroline uncial at a time when Gothic forms were being widely adopted would argue for a provincial center of production in southern Germany or Austria or for an earlier date than the 1250-60 Lutze suggested, or both. Many of the same characteristics appear in a manuscript in Graz (Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 713) that is dated 1216 and was written in the Benedictine monastery of Saint Lambrecht in Austria.²³ But the presence of Elizabeth, who was not canonized until 1235, among the saints in the Litany and in the cover illustration provides a terminus a quo for the Innsbruck Psalter.

NOTES:

1. According to Lutze (1931, p. 71), this leaf was sold at Steinmeyer in 1921, but we have been unable to trace the Steinmeyer auction.
2. In her catalogue entry Béguin credited Swarzenski with dating the miniature and added that "le style paraît indiquer un atelier de Thuringe."
3. Swarzenski 1936, pp. 40, 76, 113-14, 162, no. 29, figs. 324, 431, 1041a-46. On the Innsbruck Psalter, see also Hermann 1905, pp. 195-97.
4. Hermann 1905, pp. 195-97, figs. 89, 90. In 1936 (p. 113) Swarzenski read the inscriptions as "H O (Hieronymus?); . . . V; . . . OS W (Oswald?); . . . KA NA (Katharina); . . . OS AD (?); . . . BA (Barbara?); . . . EL (Elizabeth)."
5. Swarzenski 1936, pp. 109-10, no. 25, figs. 326-33. I thank Elizabeth Klemm of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek for her generous assistance concerning Munich Cod. lat. 2641.
6. Ibid., pp. 163-64, no. 94, figs. 1050-79; Lutze 1931, p. 72. On these two manuscripts, see also Haseloff 1897.
7. For a list of manuscripts with horn bindings, see Swarzenski 1936, p. 109, n. 3 under no. 25. For a proposal to localize a group of books with horn bindings to Bamberg, see Engelhart 1982.
8. I thank Sieglinde Sepp of the Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, for checking the collation.
9. See Leroquais 1940-41, vol. 1, pp. xcii-xciii. For examples of three-part Psalters, see Haseloff 1897, p. 36; Swarzenski 1936, pp. 119, 139; and Goldschmidt 1938, pp. 19-23.
10. I am grateful to James John, Cornell University, for his advice concerning the script of the Innsbruck Psalter and the Calendar leaf. Thomson (1969, pl. 35) illustrates a similar page from a manuscript dated 1216 that was written in the Benedictine monastery of Saint Lambrecht in Austria (Universitätsbibliothek, Graz, Cod. 713).
11. See, for example, the Worms Bible in the British Library, London (Mss Harley 2803, 2804; Cohen-Mushlin 1983, especially p. 24).
12. Pächt and Alexander 1966-73, vol. 1, pp. 9-10, no. 127, pl. 9.
13. See note 6 above.
14. Swarzenski 1936, pp. 157-59, no. 86, figs. 936-81.
15. An undated note in the Robert Lehman Collection files written sometime after 1925 (because it lists the four leaves that had by then been "disposed of") says that "these miniatures are from the Convent of Wilten in Tyrol, near Innsbruck, and are, according to Dr. Swarzenski of Frankfurt . . . painted about the end of the XII Century. . . . They were sold during the Revolution and came into the possession of a Swiss Collector from whom we obtained them in about 1923." The provenance is repeated in a typed description dated 9/28/48 in the Pierpont Morgan Library files (under M.698), which says that the Nativity (M.698) and the Ascension (M.699) "are from the Premonstratensian Abbey of Wilten in Tirol."
16. Letter from Sieglinde Sepp to the author, 28 April 1985.
17. Hermann 1905, p. 195; Swarzenski 1936, pp. 113-14, no. 29.
18. Swarzenski 1936, pp. 40-42, 111, 115, nos. 27, 32, figs. 374, 414-30.
19. Ibid., p. 162, n. 3 under no. 92.
20. Ibid., p. 161, no. 90, figs. 1036-38; Gagnebin 1976, pp. 34-36.
21. Swarzenski 1936, p. 154, no. 82, figs. 917-32.
22. Ibid., pp. 160-61, no. 89, pls. 1022-35; Thomas Raff in Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg 1987, pp. 58-59, no. 10, color ill.
23. See note 10 above.

The Housebook Master or Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet

Middle Rhine, Mainz(?), active ca. 1470–1500

The enigmatic artist known variously as the Housebook Master and the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet is distinguished by his lively style and his fresh, often humorous observations from life. Perhaps trained in the Netherlands as a manuscript illuminator, he is thought to have worked chiefly in Germany, particularly in the Middle Rhine region, in the latter half of the fifteenth century.¹ His actual identity, however, remains a puzzle. None of the drypoints, drawings, illuminations, paintings, stained glass, and woodcuts that have been attributed to him are signed, even with a monogram, and although scholars have proposed more than twelve different identities for him, including Erhard Reuwich, a painter from Utrecht who worked in Mainz, none has gained general acceptance.² He has been called the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet because eighty of his innovative drypoint prints are in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. He acquired the name Housebook Master in 1888, when he was credited with some of the drawings in the now famous *Hausbuch* manuscript, actually a sort of war manual containing forty pen-and-ink drawings and two illuminations, that has been in the collection of the Waldburg-Wolfegg family in southern Germany since the seventeenth century.³ Generally dated between 1475 and 1485, the fascinating Housebook was doubtless produced in the courtly milieu of Emperor Frederick III.

The Housebook Master was active as a printmaker between about 1470 and 1495.⁴ He was a contemporary of Martin Schongauer (1445 or 1450–1491) and had a formative influence on the young Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). A small group of paintings have also been ascribed to him: the *Pair of Lovers* in Gotha;⁵ the Speyer Altarpiece, which was probably painted between 1480 and 1485;⁶ and parts of the *Life of the Virgin* cycle that is thought to have been painted for the Liebfrauenkirche, or Lady Chapel, in Mainz, probably between 1490 and 1505.⁷ His role as an illuminator is controversial, in part because further study of the eponymic manuscript is needed to resolve the still controversial questions of his Netherlandish origins, the places and dates he worked, and the extent of his participation in the illumination of the *Hausbuch*. Of the many allegories, genre scenes, designs for military equipment, battle scenes, and coats of arms in the

Hausbuch, only three sheets – Mars, Sol, and Luna in the Children of the Planets series (fols. 13, 14, 17) – are attributed to the Housebook Master or his circle.⁸ The colored pen drawing *Johann von Soest Presenting His Manuscript to Philip the Sincere* pasted on the dedication page of the court poet Johann von Soest's verse romance *Die Kinder von Limburg*,⁹ which bears the date 1480, and the *Four Evangelists* in the Cleveland Gospels,¹⁰ which is generally dated between 1475 and 1480, are also usually attributed to him or his circle.¹¹

NOTES:

1. For a survey of scholarship on the Housebook Master, see Amsterdam 1985 and Hess 1994.
2. See Hutchison in Amsterdam 1985, pp. 41–64. On the case for identifying the Housebook Master with Reuwich, see Boon in *ibid.*, pp. 19–21, and Hess 1994, pp. 35–37.
3. Essenwein 1887; Lehrs 1887–88, p. 30; Bossert and Storck 1912; Waldburg-Wolfegg 1957; Amsterdam 1985, pp. 13–14, 43–44, 218–28, 241–44, no. 117, *ill.*; Hess 1994, pp. 135–39, no. 1, *ill.*
4. On the Housebook Master's prints, see Hutchison 1972; Filedt Kok in Amsterdam 1985, pp. 23–39, 91–187, nos. 1–89, *ill.*; and Hess 1994.
5. Schlossmuseum, 749–703; Amsterdam 1985, p. 271, no. 133, *colorpl.* 12; Hess 1994, pp. 144–46, no. 4, *colorpl.* 116. This is the only painting Hess accepts as the work of the Housebook Master.
6. Amsterdam 1985, pp. 264–67, no. 131, *colorpls.* 8, 9; Hess 1994, pp. 153–56, no. 9, *colorpls.* 62–64, *pls.* 65–67 (as workshop of the so-called Speyer Altar, ca. 1480). Three panels from the altar are in the Augustiner Museum, Freiburg im Breisgau (11531a–c); three others are in the Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main; the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (2072); and the Bodemuseum, Berlin (2073).
7. Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum, Mainz, 429–37; Amsterdam 1985, pp. 267–69, no. 132, *colorpls.* 10, 11; Hess 1994, pp. 157–61, no. 10, *colorpl.* 1, *pls.* 81–88, 131–36 (as workshop of the so-called Speyer Altar, ca. 1500–1501).
8. Hutchison in Amsterdam 1985, pp. 223–25, *colorpl.* 1; Hess 1994, pp. 14–24, *pls.* 11, 14.
9. Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Cod. pal. germ. 87; Amsterdam 1985, p. 245, no. 118, *colorpl.* 5; Hess 1994, pp. 146–47, no. 5, *colorpl.* 41 (as Master of the Housebook Genre Scenes).
10. Cleveland Museum of Art, 52.465; Amsterdam 1985, p. 246, no. 119, *colorpl.* 6; Hess 1994, p. 27.
11. In the last few decades five more manuscripts have been added to the artist's oeuvre. Although they all need further study, the lively colors, expressive draftsmanship, and acute observation of humanity in the illumination of these manuscripts relate them to the Housebook Master's style (see Anzelewsky 1958, p. 30; Arens 1966, especially pp. 83–86; Vaassen 1973, *cols.* 1329–30, 1362–63, 1367–70; Amsterdam 1985, p. 247, no. 120; and Hess 1994, p. 27).

Circle of the Housebook Master
Germany, Mainz and/or Cologne(?), 1481–82

2. The Crucifixion

Leaf from the Simmern Missal

1975.1.2479

Recto(?): blank.

Tempera on parchment. 168 x 122 mm. At the foot of the cross, the arms of Duke Friedrich von Simmern and Margarethe, daughter of Arnold, duke of Guelders: marshaled per fess *Sable a Lion rampant Or* (Rhine Palatinate) and *Bendy lozengy Argent and Azure* (Bavaria) impaling per pale *Azure a Lion rampant contourny Or* (Guelders) and *Or a Lion rampant Sable* (Juliers) over all on an inescutcheon *Checky Or and Sable* (Sponheim).¹

The thick, cream-colored parchment has been trimmed to the edge of the painted frame that surrounds the miniature. The blue black paint in the upper corners of the frame is probably what remains of trompe-l'oeil nail holes. In general, the leaf is in an excellent state of preservation, which could be in part the result of the technique: many of the details, particularly in the hair and the landscape, were drawn in pen, and the penstrokes were covered with pale washes.

PROVENANCE: Perhaps Margarethe von Simmern (d. 1486), electress Palatine, Mainz, or, more likely, one of her sons, Stephan (b. 1457) or Friedrich (b. 1460); Madame X sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 6 December 1926, lot 91, pl. 10 (as German or Flemish, sixteenth century); [Altounian, Mâcon].² Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1926.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 155, pl. 80 (as German [Bavaria], ca. 1480–90); Cincinnati 1959, no. 337 (as Augsburg, ca. 1510).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1718 (as German, ca. 1510, possibly of the Glockenden school, strongly influenced by A. Dürer); Wescher 1938, pp. 52, 54–55, fig. 3 (as circle of the Housebook Master); Fuchs 1960, p. 24, nn. 175, 176, 179 (as Mainz, partly after Schongauer); Arens 1966, p. 83, n. 59 (as circle of the Housebook Master); Vaassen 1973, cols. 1216, 1233–34, 1240, 1254–55, 1302, 1337–38, 1393–95, pl. 48 (as workshop of the Mainz Giant Bible, ca. 1480); Amsterdam 1985, p. 247, under no. 120.³

When De Ricci listed this miniature in his *Census* in 1937 he credited A. van de Put with identifying the arms at the foot of the cross as those of Duke Friedrich (d. 1480) and Margarethe (d. 1486) von Simmern, elector and electress Palatine, who were married in 1454. In 1938 Wescher pointed out that the same arms appear in a manuscript in Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett, 78B4) that he had earlier connected with the style of the artist known as the Housebook Master.⁴ Wescher raised the possibility that the Lehman leaf was cut from the Berlin manuscript, but he did not pursue the idea.⁵ Since 1938 several others have discussed the resemblance between

the miniature and the manuscript. Fuchs in 1960 and Vaassen in 1973 also thought the miniature may have come from the Simmern Missal.

The hypothesis that the Lehman miniature was removed from the Berlin Missal is supported by a great deal of circumstantial evidence. The Berlin Missal does lack a miniature before the Canon of the Mass (Fig. 2.1), where it would have been customary to include a representation of the Crucifixion. Although some Missals were left unadorned, it is difficult to imagine that the Simmern Missal, which even in its present state is unusually lavishly illustrated, with 24 illuminated text pages among its 191 leaves, did not at one time include such a miniature. Furthermore, the arms that appear in the Berlin manuscript on the first illuminated page, folio 8 (Fig. 2.2), which introduces the text for the first Sunday in Advent, are identical to those on the Lehman leaf. The shields are painted in the same manner, are the same size, and are similarly positioned on the two pages, which would have come at the very places in the Missal where one would expect to find indications of patronage or ownership, that is, on the opening leaf and on the leaf with the most important miniature before the most significant text. The dates inscribed in the initials on folios 58v and 167 of the Simmern Missal, 1481 and 1482, correspond with the date that Vaassen proposed for the Lehman leaf based on its relationship to dated works. She dated the miniature to about 1480, comparing it to miniatures in three other manuscripts: the Missal of Adolf of Breithart (Bibliothek, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar, Mainz, Missale Sign. HS 7), which bears the date 1481;⁶ a Statute Book from the Saint-Peter-Stift in Mainz (Stiftsbibliothek, Aschaffenburg, Perg. 13) that is dated 1487;⁷ and a Gospel Book also from the Saint-Peter-Stift (Bibliothek, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar, Mainz, HS 5) that is datable to about 1485.⁸

That the Lehman leaf may once have been part of the Simmern Missal can also be supported on codicological grounds. The manuscript is composed of regular gatherings of ten leaves, or five bifolios. The text of the Canon of the Mass, which begins on folio 109 (Fig. 2.1), occupies the right side of the center of the twelfth gathering, forming a bifolio with the text that precedes it on folio 108v. Although like the others in the Missal the twelfth



No. 2

gathering is intact, a miniature could easily have been inserted with a stub at this juncture. The full-page miniatures in the Breithart Missal and the Saint-Peter-Stift Statute Book are blank on their versos, and in each case they were inserted with stubs into their respective gatherings. Although the parchment is relatively thin throughout the Berlin volume, the parchment at folios 108 and 109 has a somewhat thicker quality, like that of the Lehman leaf.

The pages of the Simmern Missal measure 233 by 173 millimeters. The surface area of the Lehman miniature is just a bit larger (168 x 122 mm) than the surface area of the text in the Missal (145 x 103 mm) and considerably smaller than the area of the text and decorated space combined (212 x 156 mm). If the Lehman leaf once faced the Canon (Fig. 2.1), the miniature would have to have been surrounded by very generous margins that took up nearly one-third of the area of the page. Such generous margins are customary in other books executed at about the same time and attributed to the Housebook Master and artists in his circle, among them the Breithart Missal and the Statute Book of Saint-Peter-Stift (see Figs. 2.5, 2.6). Furthermore, in most of those manuscripts the margins around the miniatures are filled with decoration.⁹ A border something like that on the *Crucifixion* facing the opening of the Canon of the Mass in the Breithart Missal (Fig. 2.5) might therefore have surrounded the Lehman *Crucifixion*, especially as the text pages of the Breithart Missal have acanthus decoration similar to that found throughout the Simmern Missal.

There are also stylistic parallels between the miniature and the marginalia in the Simmern Missal. The faces of the two angels standing amid the twining acanthus leaves and bearing the instruments of the Passion (the top angel with a sponge and a pillar, the bottom one with a lance and a cross with nails and the crown of thorns) in the right margin of the Canon page of the Simmern Missal (Fig. 2.1) are extraordinarily similar to the face of Mary in the Lehman miniature. They have the thick-lidded eyes that appear in other works from the circle of the Housebook Master; full, puffy mouths with downturned corners; and long, broad noses. The three figures perched nimbly on the foliage in the bottom border of the opening page of the Missal (Fig. 2.2), the one in the center carrying the Simmern shield, and Christ's mockers to the right of the cross in the miniature all have bulbous noses and thick-lipped mouths, and their feet are shod in long, pointed-toed crakows. Similar life-like figures in stop-action poses occur throughout the

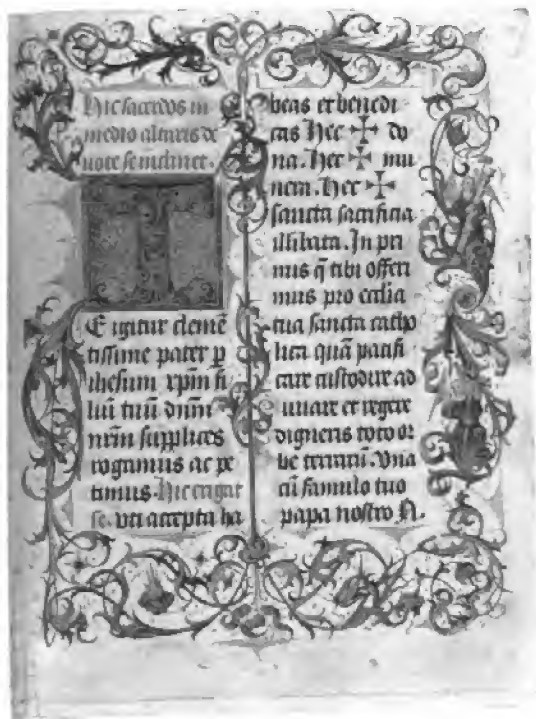


Fig. 2.1 Opening of the Canon of the Mass. Simmern Missal, fol. 109. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 78B4. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin

manuscript, for example on folio 50, striding toward the center at the bottom of the border that surrounds the text for the Vigil of Saint Andrew at the beginning of the Sanctoral (Fig. 2.4). The figure of the resurrected Christ bearing his standard in the left margin of the text for Easter on folio 35v (Fig. 2.3) should be compared to the Saint John to the left of the cross in the miniature. And the dogs in the hunt portrayed on folio 75, where the text for the Assumption of Mary begins, strongly resemble the dog at the foot of the cross.

The similarities entail much more than a common vocabulary of motifs; they extend also to execution. The palette used in the Lehman miniature and in the Missal is similar, and certain idiosyncrasies in the drawing style occur in both: the technique of sketching in ink; the tight, curly lines of the hair; the long, narrow fingers with the middle two oddly separated; and the modeling with parallel lines and extensive hatching that was perhaps borrowed from engraving techniques.

Like the larger question of the Housebook Master's contribution to book illumination, the attribution of the Simmern Missal remains problematic. In 1958 Anzelewsky attributed the border decoration in the Missal to the



Fig. 2.2 Text for the first Sunday in Advent. Simmern Missal, fol. 8. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 78B4. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin



Fig. 2.3 Text for Easter. Simmern Missal, fol. 35v. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 78B4. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin



Fig. 2.4 Vigil of Saint Andrew. Simmern Missal, fol. 50. Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 78B4. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin

Housebook Master himself, but in 1964 Arens considered the borders to be only distantly related to the artist's work.¹⁰ In 1966 Lehmann-Haupt pointed out that some of the marginalia in the Missal derive from models by the Master of the Playing Cards that must have circulated in the Middle Rhine.¹¹ In 1973 Knaus demonstrated that the manuscript is indeed a Missal, not a Book of Hours, and that it must have been used by someone who belonged to the Cathedral Chapter at Cologne. As women could not be members of the chapter, he proposed that the book's first owner was not Margarethe von Simmern, as had long been supposed. Two of Margarethe and Friedrich's sons, Stephan and Friedrich, were associated with the Cathedral Chapter, Stephan as deacon and Friedrich as *Chorbischof*. As children who took up spiritual vocations retained the shields of their parents, Knaus thought that one of the two brothers was more likely to have commissioned the book. He also reported that the book was bound by a binder known as the Master of the Rose, who was active in Cologne between 1470 and 1491, and that the script could be identified with a Cologne scribe.¹² Although he agreed with Anzelewsky's attribution of the lavish border decoration to the Housebook Master, he concluded

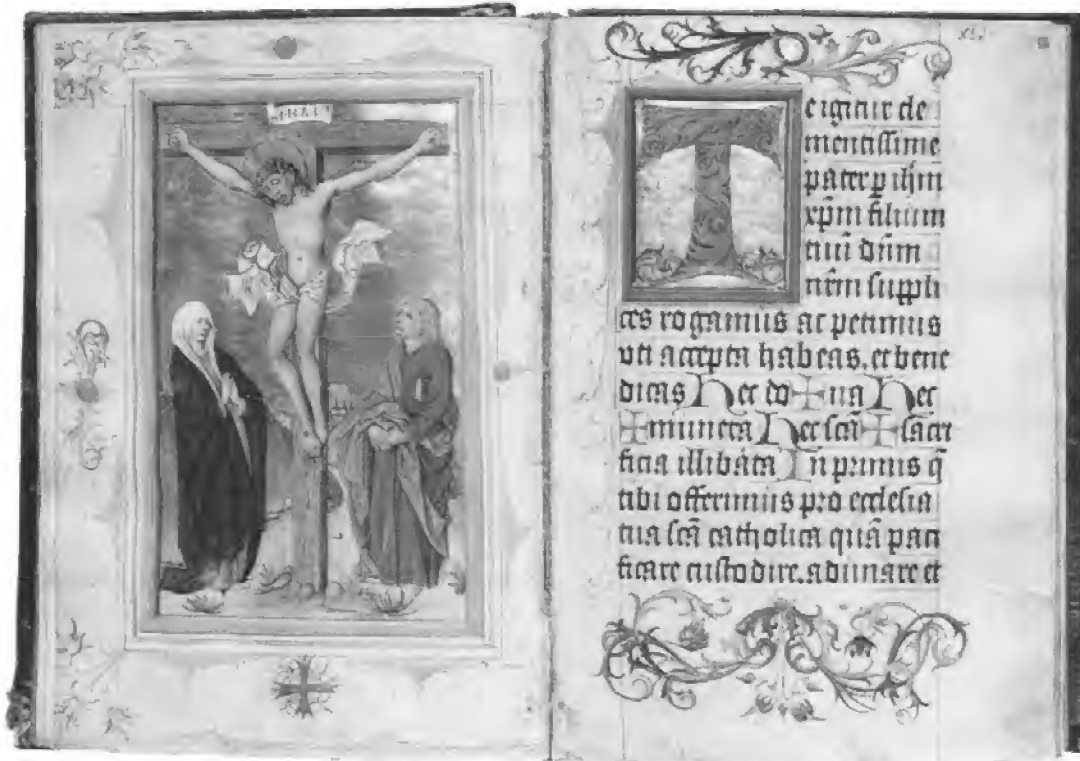


Fig. 2.5 Circle of the Housebook Master, *The Crucifixion* and opening of the Canon of the Mass. Missal of Adolf of Breithart, fols. 53v–54. Bibliothek, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar, Mainz, Missale Sign. HS 7

that the book was commissioned, written, illustrated, and bound in Cologne and that the Housebook Master would have to have traveled to Cologne to undertake the illumination.

In the catalogue of the exhibition of works of the Housebook Master and his circle that was held in Amsterdam in 1985, Filedt Kok described the Simmern Missal as “the most beautifully illuminated manuscript of a small group produced around 1480 in and around Mainz, the borders of which show the Master’s influence.” He compared the figures in the borders with those in the scenes of courtly life in the *Hausbuch* (fols. 18v–24).¹³ In the same catalogue Boon credited the illumination of the Berlin manuscript to a miniaturist “of a younger generation than the Master of the Housebook” who may have been influenced by Burgundian Netherlandish miniature art, especially that of Liéven van Latham, who enrolled as a painter in Antwerp in 1462.¹⁴ More recently, König has suggested that the book may have been written, partially illuminated, and even bound in Cologne and then, sometime later, transported to the area around Mainz, where the Housebook Master or an artist in his circle completed its illumination.¹⁵ This theory is supported by the appearance of

two distinct types of illuminated initials of different dates: those on folios 8 and 35v (Figs. 2.2, 2.3), which are typical of Cologne illumination, and those on folios 50 and 109 (Figs. 2.4, 2.1), which are typical of Mainz illumination. In 1994 Hess attributed the Simmern Missal, without mentioning the Lehman *Crucifixion*, to the workshop of the Giant Bible of Mainz, influenced by the Housebook Master.¹⁶

The hilly landscape in the background of the Lehman *Crucifixion* is echoed in the three drawings in the *Hausbuch* that are generally attributed to the Housebook Master or his circle: *Mars*, *Sol*, and *Luna* in the *Planetenkinder*, or Children of the Planets, series (see Fig. 2.7).¹⁷ The figure of John in the miniature resembles those of the *Four Evangelists* (see Fig. 2.8) in the Cleveland Gospels (Cleveland Museum of Art, 52.465), which are also usually attributed to the Master,¹⁸ and Mary bears a striking resemblance to her counterpart in the *Crucifixion* in the Breithart Missal (Fig. 2.5). The draftsmanlike treatment of the figures in the Lehman leaf is consistent with the style and technique not only of the *Hausbuch* and the Cleveland Gospels but also of the colored pen drawing that forms the frontispiece of the court poet Johann von Soest’s translation of the



Fig. 2.6 Circle of the Housebook Master, *The Lamb of God and the Symbols of the Evangelists*, Statute Book of Saint-Peter-Stift, Mainz, fol. 1v. Stiftsbibliothek, Perg. 13. By permission of the Hofbibliothek, Aschaffenburg



Fig. 2.7 Housebook Master or his circle, *Luna*. *Hausbuch*, fol. 17. Wolfegg Castle, Germany. Photograph courtesy of Kunst und Kultur Schloss Wolfegg

verse romance *Die Kinder von Limburg* (Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Cod. pal. germ. 87),¹⁹ another work many consider to be by the Master's own hand. Compared with the best works by the Housebook Master, however, the Lehman *Crucifixion* is more static, and the figures are stiffer, almost wooden.²⁰ This suggests that the miniature should be attributed to an artist in the circle of the Housebook Master who skillfully emulated his style, technique, and figural types.

The Simmern Missal has long served as an important clue in attempts to reconstruct the careers of the Housebook Master and the artists in his circle, not only because of its high artistic quality but also because the date and circumstances of its execution are relatively secure. Reintegrated with the Lehman miniature, it contributes new evidence. It also raises another interesting question. As Fuchs noted in 1960, the painter of the Lehman miniature appears to have relied, in particular for the four figures at the foot of the cross, on an engraving by Martin Schongauer (Bartsch VI.22; Fig. 2.9).²¹ If the miniature is indeed from the Simmern

Missal, then it must date to 1481–82, and if the miniature was partly copied from the Schongauer engraving, then the engraving must date to those years or earlier.

NOTES:

1. I am grateful to Theo Margelony of the Department of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum for providing the heraldic description.
2. De Ricci (1937, p. 1718) gave the provenance of this leaf as "Mme. Fould sale (Paris, 6 Dec. 1926, n. 91, pl.) to Altounian." "Benoit-Fould" appears in large block capitals on the front cover of the catalogue for the sale held at the Galerie Georges Petit on 6 and 7 December 1926; the title page says that the illuminations and other works of art were from the collection of "Madame X." This leaf and Nos. 3 and 20 were all included in the "Madame X" sale. In 1938 Wescher (p. 54) said that as far as he knew, this miniature had gone to a private collection in Bourges after the 1926 sale.
3. Filedt Kok's entry for the Simmern Missal (no. 120) in the Dutch version of Amsterdam 1985 does not mention the Lehman leaf. The descriptive heading for no. 120 in the English version of the catalogue, however, describes the Missal as having "191 pages . . . with illuminated initials



Fig. 2.8 Housebook Master(?), *Saint John the Evangelist*. Cleveland Gospels. Copyright Cleveland Museum of Art, 1995, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund, 52.465



Fig. 2.9 Martin Schongauer, *The Crucifixion*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Christian A. Zabriskie, 1940, 40.12.3

and borders and a miniature of the Crucifixion, now preserved separately," even though the text of the entry says that "the decoration of the manuscript was probably confined to illuminated initials and borders."

4. Wescher 1930; Wescher 1938, pp. 54–55. On the Missal, see also Knaus 1973; Vaassen 1973, cols. 1346–53; Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975–76, pp. 228–29, 245; Amsterdam 1985, pp. 247–48, no. 120, ill. (fols. 8, 14, 44v, 160v); Filedt Kok 1987.
5. Wescher (1938, p. 54) also related this leaf to a single leaf in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (ms 106; Wescher 1930, pp. 119–20, fig. 118; Vaassen 1973, cols. 1362–63 [as from the Giant Bible of Mainz at Würzburg]), and another in the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, Berlin (now lost; Wescher 1930, p. 122, fig. 120), and suggested that all three might come from some other manuscript.
6. Anzelewsky 1958, p. 30; Arens 1966, pp. 85–86; Vaassen 1973, col. 1367.
7. Vaassen 1973, cols. 1346–47; Hofmann and Hauke 1978, pp. 21–24.
8. Vaassen 1973, cols. 1365–67.
9. Exceptions are the Housebook, *Die Kinder von Limburg*, and the Cleveland Gospels (see notes 13, 19, and 18 below), the first two with no border decoration, the third with

sparse decoration but with miniatures the same size as the text block.

10. Anzelewsky 1958, pp. 33–34; Arens 1966.
11. Lehmann-Haupt 1966, p. 29, fig. 3.
12. On the Master of the Rose, see Kyriss 1951–58, vol. 1, pp. 83, 148, vol. 2, pls. 203, 204.
13. Filedt Kok in Amsterdam 1985, pp. 217, 247, no. 120. On the Housebook, see Bossert and Storck 1912 (a black-and-white facsimile); Amsterdam 1985, pp. 218–28, 241–44, no. 117, pls. 1–4; and Hess 1994.
14. Boon in Amsterdam 1985, pp. 18, 22, n. 21.
15. Eberhard König, Freie Universität, Berlin, conversation with the author, 1985.
16. Hess 1994, p. 27.
17. Amsterdam 1985, pp. 223–25, colorpl. 1.
18. Milliken 1953; Wixom in Cleveland 1964, pp. 58–60; Amsterdam 1985, p. 246, no. 119, colorpl. 6.
19. Amsterdam 1985, p. 245, no. 118, colorpl. 5.
20. The composition of the Lehman miniature is also less effective and more static than that of a drawing of the same subject in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (B.13 rés.; *ibid.*, p. 260, no. 128, ill.), that has been accepted as by an artist in the circle of the Housebook Master.
21. Baum 1948, fig. 14; Hutchison 1980, p. 236, no. 22 (129).

France, Paris(?)

ca. 1455–60

3. Coronation of the Virgin

Leaf from a Book of Hours

1975.1.2480

Verso: incomplete text of Compline of the Hours of the Virgin, surrounded by a foliate border.

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 127 x 92 mm, miniature 67 x 45 mm. Below the miniature on the recto, which is framed on three sides by a burnished gold band with blue and red flowers alternating with green leaves on a stem, are the opening versicle and response of Compline of the Hours of the Virgin: "Converte nos deus / salutaris noster. / Et averte iram." The text continues on the verso with "tuam a nobis / Deus in adiutorium me / um intende. / Domine ad adiu-van-du[m] me festina. / G[lor]ia patri. Alleluia" and then Psalm 128: "Sepe expugnaueru[n]t . . . Supra dorsum meum," written in dark brown ink in a *textualis gotica formata* on 13 lines, ruling no longer visible, justification 67 x 50 mm, rubrics in blue, with two- and three-line blue or red initials with foliate and floral fill on burnished gold grounds, one-line dentelle initials in burnished gold with alternating red and blue for the fill and ground, and red, blue, and burnished gold geometric line endings. Like the text on the verso, the miniature and text on the recto are set in a border of ivy leaves, rinceaux, and acanthus.

Adhesive and paper residues from a former mount were removed from the verso in the Paper Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum in 1984. Small losses, some of which were toned in sometime in the past, are evident on both sides of the leaf: on the recto in the pink wings, the red flowers, the green leaves, and the blue of the sky, the Madonna's robe, the acanthus, and the flowers; on the verso in the green leaves and the blue of the acanthus in the corners, the line endings, and the rubric. Otherwise, although it has been cut down to the gold line surrounding the border, the leaf retains its original freshness.

PROVENANCE: Madame X sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 6 December 1926, lot 14 (as from a Missal of the fifteenth century, in the style of the Limbourg brothers).¹ Acquired by Robert Lehman in Paris in 1926.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 168 (as French, ca. 1430);² Cincinnati 1959, no. 339 (as Flemish, fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1712 (as school of Fouquet, ca. 1460).

The as yet unidentified Book of Hours from which this leaf was removed must have been a splendid manuscript. Not only is the miniature by a skilled artist who was a master of composition, coloring, and modeling, but the secondary decoration and the script are also the work of craftsmen of considerable talent. The full four-sided border surrounding the text on the verso, which must

have faced another text page, indicates that all the pages of the manuscript were illuminated. The book must have been a deluxe commission for a special patron. Nevertheless, this leaf is virtually unknown and has been little studied.

At first glance, the page most resembles those in manuscripts produced by artists in the circle of the Coëtivy Master, who is named for a Book of Hours in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1929) that was executed for Olivier de Coëtivy and his wife, Marie Marguerite de Valois (daughter of King Charles VII and Agnès Sorel), sometime between their marriage in 1458 and her death in 1473.³ The Lehman leaf and the miniatures in the Rivoire Hours (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, N. a. lat. 3114),⁴ another manuscript by the Coëtivy Master, have a number of points in common, particularly in their layout and decoration. The *Virgin and Child with Donor* (Fig. 3.1) and *Saint Veronica* (Fig. 3.2) in the Rivoire Hours (fols. 20v, 165), for example, and the Lehman *Coronation of the Virgin* are all composed within arched frames topped by decorative penwork, and on all three leaves the area occupied by the miniature and the text is separated from the border by a three-sided ornamental gold frame enclosing flowers placed stem to blossom along an imaginary axis. The borders contain similar decorative elements, such as acanthus, rinceaux, flowers, and birds and other animals, those in the lower margin resting on a grassy mound. The introductory initials, composed of blue and red ivy leaves on a gold ground, convey similar impressions. The hand that wrote the text of the Obsecro te in the Rivoire Hours is extremely close to that of the scribe who wrote the Lehman leaf. And the dimensions of the pages of the Rivoire Hours (155 x 110 mm, miniature 73 x 47 mm, justification 70 x 47 mm) vary only slightly from those of the Lehman leaf.

There are significant differences, however, between the style of the Coëtivy Master and that of the artist of the Lehman leaf. As in other manuscripts attributed to the Coëtivy Master, in the miniatures in the Rivoire Hours deep purple and dark blue predominate, the red is often a dark rose or a burnt orange, bright orange and yellow are used infrequently, and pastels almost never



No. 3, recto

appear. The palette used in the Lehman miniature includes similar shades of purple, blue, and rose, but pastels have been introduced in the garments and bright orange and yellow in the aureole around God the Father. The colors of the borders in the Rivoire Hours are also more somber than those on the Lehman leaf.

Furthermore, the Coëtivy Master habitually represented the Coronation of the Virgin according to an

iconographic formula that makes the scene more earth-bound, less ethereal than the Lehman version. The *Coronation* in the Coëtivy Hours in Vienna (fol. 54) typifies that formula, wherein God the Father is seated facing front within an elaborate architectural framework, and an angel appears from the left to crown the Virgin. The model for the Lehman miniature derives ultimately from a composition the Limbourg brothers used

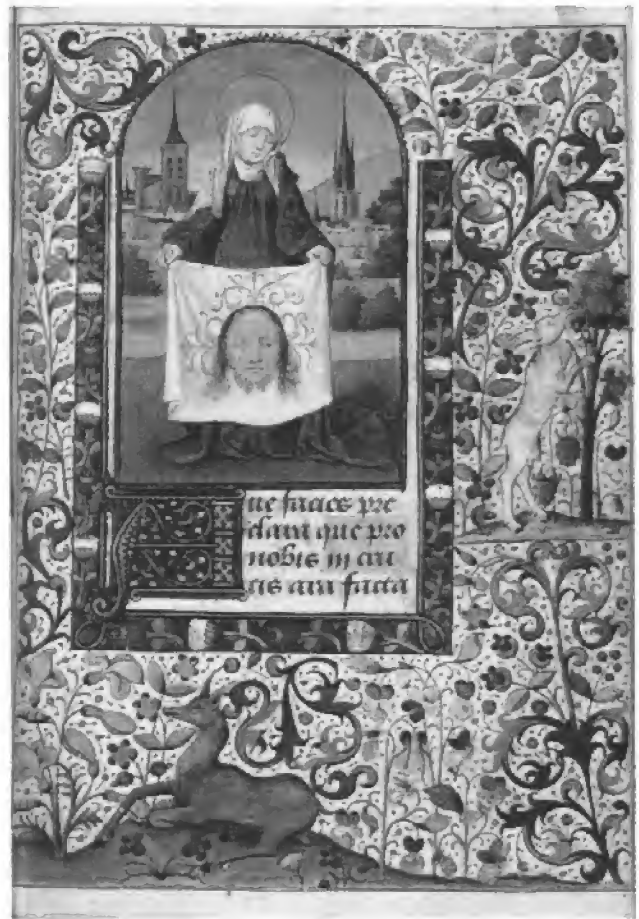


No. 3, verso

in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (Musée Condé, Chantilly, fol. 60v),⁵ which may account for its having been described as “in the style of the Limbourgs” when it was sold in Paris in 1926.

The Lehman leaf is in some ways closer to manuscripts in the late style of the Master of the Duke of Bedford, whose name comes from a Breviary (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Lat. 17294) associated with

John, duke of Bedford, that was begun between 1420 and 1424 and was left unfinished at the duke's death in 1435.⁶ The softer, more pastel palette used by the artist of the Lehman leaf is also found, for example, in the *Saint John on Patmos* (Fig. 3.3) and other miniatures in the Book of Hours in the British Library, London (Yates Thompson MS 3), that was made for Jean Dunois (1403–1468), known as Le Bâtard, whose father was



Figs. 3.1 and 3.2 Coëtivy Master, *Virgin and Child with Donor* (left) and *Saint Veronica* (right). Rivoire Hours, fols. 20v and 165. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, N. a. lat. 3114

probably Louis, duke of Orléans.⁷ The Dunois Hours is usually dated about 1455, and an artist known as the Chief Associate of the Bedford Master, or the Dunois Master, was largely responsible for its miniatures. Foliate motifs similar to those on the Lehman leaf fill the borders in the Dunois Hours as well (see Figs. 3.3, 3.4), and the figure of God the Father is treated in much the same way in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Dunois Hours (Fig. 3.4) as in the Lehman miniature. A Book of Hours in the National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool (Mayer MS 12001),⁸ that has been ascribed to the Bedford workshop and another in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (Latin MS 164)⁹ that has been attributed to the Chief Associate have miniatures and secondary decoration in a style comparable to that of the Lehman leaf.

Reynaud has proposed that the Coëtivy Master, whose art was probably formed in northern France and who may be identified with Colin d'Amiens, was active in Paris from about 1450 to about 1485.¹⁰ He worked primarily for members of the royal court, as both a painter and an illuminator. The careers of the Coëtivy Master and the Chief Associate of the Bedford Master overlapped in Paris, and the two artists served the same clientele. The Chief Associate began his career in the workshop of the Bedford Master before 1435 or 1440. He worked alone and in collaboration with other Parisian illuminators until as late as 1466.¹¹ The Lehman leaf was most likely executed in Paris by a painter from these circles. It was probably undertaken between 1455 and 1460, as it seems more evolved than the Dunois Hours but somewhat old-fashioned when



Figs. 3.3 and 3.4 Chief Associate of the Bedford Master, *Saint John on Patmos* (left) and *Coronation of the Virgin* (right). Hours of Jean Dunois, fols. 13 and 114. British Library, London, Yates Thompson MS 3. By permission of the British Library

compared with the Rivoire Hours. The lavishly illustrated manuscript from which this *Coronation* was removed and the talented artist who executed it will no doubt eventually be identified. That so skillful an artist contributed only a few miniatures to books is unlikely, for he would seem to have been one of the most accomplished craftsmen of his day.

NOTES:

1. De Ricci (1937, p. 1712) called the sale the "Madame Fould sale"; see No. 2, note 2.
2. In her catalogue entry Béguin said that the style of the figures, in which Porcher had recognized a certain affinity with the Bedford Master, indicated a miniaturist working in Paris about 1430, who might have influenced Jean Fouquet.
3. Pächt and Thoss 1974-77, vol. 1, pp. 29-32, vol. 2, figs. 32-41. On the Coëtivy Master, see also Reynaud 1965; Reynaud 1973; New York 1982-83, pp. 37-41, nos. 49-53; and Paris 1993-94, pp. 58-69, nos. 22-29.

4. Porcher 1961, pp. 97-98, no. 20, pls. 66-68; Reynaud 1965, pp. 173, 177, 180, figs. 2, 10; Paris 1993-94, pp. 67-68, no. 28, ill. (fol. 165).
5. Longnon and Cazelles 1969, colorpl. 59; Cazelles 1984, colorpl. 20; Cazelles and Rathofer 1988, color ill. pp. 100-101.
6. Spencer 1965b; Spencer 1966; Paris 1993-94, pp. 22-24, no. 3, ill. (fol. 212v). For manuscripts in the United States and manuscripts by some of the Bedford Master's later followers, see New York 1982-83, pp. 2-4, nos. 2-5.
7. James 1898, pp. 49-58, no. 11; Thompson 1915, no. 11, pls. 47-52; Marrow and Avril 1994, pp. 22, 24, 28, 29, 33, 42, 43, figs. 9, 12, 17 (fols. 13, 114, 22v).
8. Manchester 1976, p. 25, no. 32, pl. 8.
9. James 1921, vol. 1, pp. 281-87, vol. 2, pls. 168-74; Spencer 1965a, p. 107; Marrow and Avril 1994, pp. 30, 31, 34, fig. 10 (fol. 74).
10. Reynaud in Paris 1993-94, pp. 58-59.
11. On the Chief Associate, see Reynaud in *ibid.*, pp. 36-38, nos. 6, 7, ill.; and Marrow and Avril 1994, particularly pp. 15-36.

Jean Fouquet

Tours ca. 1415/20–Tours 1478/81

Certainly the most famous French painter of the fifteenth century, Jean Fouquet is celebrated as a virtuoso, a gifted craftsman, and an artistic genius who worked on both a large scale and in miniature and in a variety of mediums – oil on oak or walnut, enamel on copper, silverpoint on paper, and tempera on parchment. He was an accomplished calligrapher as well,¹ and it has recently come to light that he painted heraldic representations on glass.² The paintings and illuminations that have survived bear witness to what the Florentine sculptor and architect Filarete called Fouquet's remarkable abilities "a ritrarre del naturale" and to his extraordinary talents as a colorist, landscapist, and storyteller.³

Few documents record Fouquet's life and work.⁴ He must have been born between about 1415 and 1420, probably in Tours; a late fifteenth-century note in the French translation of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* begun for Jean, duke of Berry, and finished for his descendant Jacques d'Armagnac credits "Jehan Fouquet natif de Tours" with painting nine of its miniatures.⁵ We know from the contemporary reports of both Filarete and the writer Francesco Florio that as a young man Fouquet traveled to Italy, where sometime between 1444 and 1446 he painted a now lost portrait on canvas of Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431–47) and studied firsthand the Italian art whose forms, motifs, and principles he was later to incorporate into his own work with stunning effect.⁶ On his return to Tours he took up a successful career creating paintings, scenery, studies for funerary monuments, and illuminated manuscripts for individuals in the royal circle. He painted King Charles VII's portrait,⁷ and he is listed as "peintre du roy" in the accounts of Charles's successor, Louis XI, for 1475.⁸ Fouquet was dead by 8 November 1481, when an entry in the records of the collegiate church of Saint Martin in Tours refers to "the widow and heirs of the late Jean Fouquet, painter."⁹

Not a single contemporary document can be linked to Fouquet's surviving works. His oeuvre has been reconstructed entirely on the basis of the note in the *Antiquités judaïques* and a copper medallion with his self-portrait and calligraphic signature.¹⁰ Among the few large-scale paintings ascribed to him are the portrait of Charles VII, a portrait of French chancellor Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins,¹¹ and the so-called Melun Diptych, which was commissioned by Étienne Chevalier, treasurer

of France, for the church of Notre-Dame in Melun, his hometown, and portrays Saint Stephen presenting Chevalier to the Madonna (the model for whom, according to tradition, was Charles VII's mistress Agnès Sorel).¹² One large altarpiece, the *Pietà* discovered sometime between 1929 and 1931 in the parish church of the village of Nouans-les-Fontaines, not far from Tours,¹³ and two drawings by Fouquet have also been preserved.¹⁴ Manuscript illuminations make up the bulk of the work that survives, even though illumination may have been only a sideline for Fouquet. It seems that although he was often called upon to contribute miniatures to Books of Hours or to grand commissioned copies of historical and literary works, he probably did not direct a workshop of his own, nor does he seem to have had an ongoing relationship with any one shop.¹⁵

Illuminations by Fouquet appear in the copy of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* that was written in 1458 for Laurent Girard, Étienne Chevalier's son-in-law and his successor as controller of finances for Charles VII;¹⁶ the *Grandes Chroniques de France* that was perhaps made for Charles VII about 1460;¹⁷ the *Statutes of the Order of Saint Michael* that was commissioned by Louis XI and for which Fouquet was paid in 1470;¹⁸ and a now dismantled copy of the *Histoire ancienne* that dates to about 1470–75.¹⁹ He contributed miniatures to dress up and personalize two small, sumptuous Books of Hours, one made in 1455 for Simon de Varie, a newly ennobled young official of the French court,²⁰ the other finished sometime between 1460 and 1465 for Jean Robertet, who was secretary first to the duke of Bourbon and then to Louis XI.²¹ On other commercial Books of Hours he collaborated with illuminators who may have run their own ateliers in the Loire valley or Paris.²² Fouquet's undisputed masterpiece, the Book of Hours he painted for Étienne Chevalier between 1452 and 1460, at the height of his career, is the only surviving manuscript illuminated entirely in his hand.²³

NOTES:

1. Avril (Marrow and Avril 1994, pp. 113, 132, n. 7) has suggested that Fouquet invented the quirky ligatures and block capitals that appear in the inscriptions on fols. 1r and 2r and elsewhere in the Hours of Simon de Varie.
2. See Jacky 1992 and Jacky 1993.

3. Filarete (before 1465) 1965, vol. 1, p. 120, vol. 2, fol. 69r; also quoted in Durrieu 1908, pp. 82–83, n. 1.
4. The documents are cited in Durrieu 1908, pp. 81–92, and, more fully, in Schaefer 1972, vol. 2, pp. 4–98. On Fouquet's life and work, see Paris 1981 and Paris 1993–94, pp. 130–48.
5. The note was written by François Robertet, secretary to Pierre de Beaujeu, who seized Jacques d'Armagnac's library when he was arrested in 1476. For the *Antiquités judaïques* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fr. 247, N. a. fr. 21013), see Paris 1981, pp. 66–70, no. 23, ill.; and Paris 1993–94, pp. 140–42, no. 71, color ill. (fols. 135v, 230v).
6. See Filarete (before 1465) 1965, vol. 1, p. 120, vol. 2, fol. 69; and a letter from Francesco Florio to a friend in Rome, published in Salmon 1855, p. 105, both quoted in Durrieu 1908, p. 83. On the portrait, see also Paris 1981, pp. 9–12, no. 2 (with earlier bibliography); and Marrow and Avril 1994, pp. 66, 104–5, n. 86.
7. Louvre, Paris, 9106; Wescher 1947, pp. 21, 49, color ill. 8; Paris 1981, pp. 12–18, no. 3, ill.; Marrow and Avril 1994, p. 65, fig. 30.
8. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Lat. 20685, p. 632, cited in Durrieu 1908, p. 89, n. 3.
9. Grandmaison 1870, p. 14, cited in Durrieu 1908, p. 89, n. 5: "la veufve et héritiers de feu Jehan Fouquet, peintre." See also Wescher 1947, p. 35; and Paris 1981, p. 5.
10. Louvre, OA56; Paris 1981, pp. 22–27, no. 6, ill.; Paris 1993–94, color ill. p. 131.
11. Louvre, 9619; Paris 1981, pp. 31–34, no. 9, ill.; Marrow and Avril 1994, p. 60, fig. 28. For Fouquet's drawing of the head of Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins, see note 14 below.
12. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, 1617 (*Étienne Chevalier with Saint Stephen*), and Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 132 (*Virgin and Child Surrounded by Angels*); Wescher 1947, pp. 19–21, 29–31, 48–52, color ill. 5, pl. 38; Paris 1981, pp. 18–22, nos. 4, 5, ill.; Marrow and Avril 1994, pp. 58–59, figs. 26, 27.
13. Paris 1981, pp. 39–44, no. 13, ill. Paris 1981, no. 13, and Marrow 1994, p. 44, say the altarpiece was discovered in 1931; Paris 1993–94, p. 130, says 1929.
14. Metropolitan Museum, 49.38 (*Portrait of an Ecclesiastic*), and Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ. 4367 (*Head of Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins*); Paris 1981, pp. 27–28, nos. 7, 8, ill.; Metropolitan Museum 1987, p. 132, fig. 97 (color).
15. See Paris 1993–94, pp. 130, 149.
16. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. gall. 6; Paris 1981, pp. 58–60, no. 20, ill.; Marrow and Avril 1994, p. 47, fig. 18 (color).
17. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fr. 6465; Paris 1993–94, pp. 139–40, no. 70, color ill.; Marrow and Avril 1994, p. 64, fig. 29.
18. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fr. 19819; Contamine 1976; Paris 1993–94, pp. 143–46, no. 72, color ill.
19. Louvre, R.F. 4143, 5271, 29493, 29494, and Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, A1943; Paris 1981, pp. 70–75, nos. 24–27, ill.; Paris 1993–94, p. 146, no. 73, color ill.
20. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 7, and Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, MSS 74 G 37, 74 G 37a; Avril 1985; Marrow 1985; Paris 1993–94, pp. 136–39, no. 69, color ill.; Marrow and Avril 1994, color ill.
21. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.834; Paris 1981, pp. 55–56, no. 18, ill.; New York 1982–83, pp. 30–31, no. 42.
22. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, N. a. lat. 3211 and N. a. lat. 3187 (Hours for the use of Angers and the so-called Baudricourt Hours; Paris 1993–94, pp. 131–33, 147–48, nos. 67, 74); Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473 (Hours of Charles of France; Paris 1981, pp. 56–58, no. 19, ill.).
23. Schaefer 1971, color ill.; Paris 1993–94, pp. 133–36, no. 68, color ill.

Jean Fouquet
Tours, ca. 1452–60

4. The Right Hand of God Protecting the Faithful Against the Demons Leaf from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier

1975.I.2490

Recto: end of the prayer for Vespers of the Cross with, to the right, a panel border of acanthus sprays, leaves, flowers, a golden dragon, and the monogram *ee*.

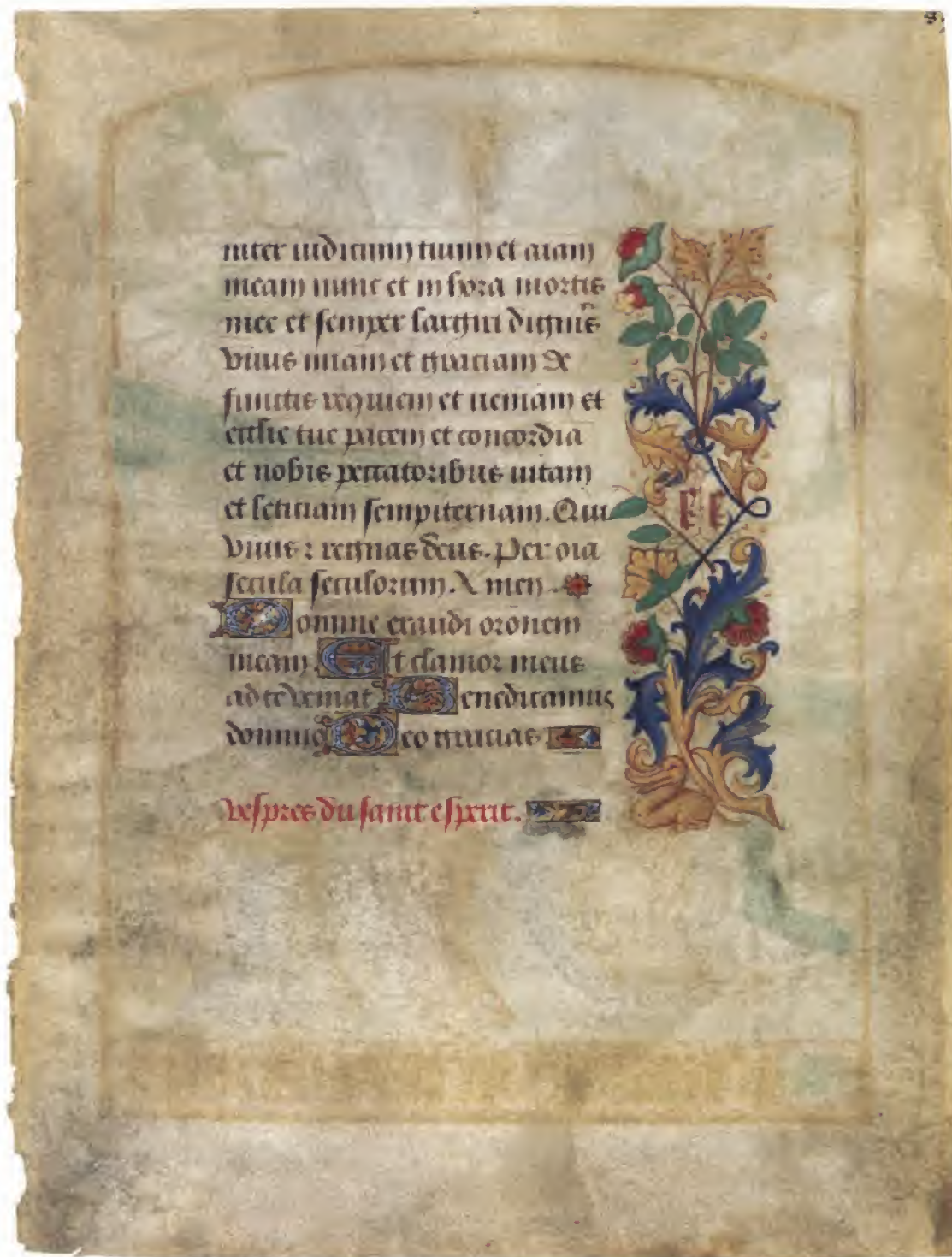
Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 194 x 146 mm. On the recto are the closing words of the prayer for Vespers of the Cross: "inter iudicium tuam . . . Benedicamus domino deo gracias," followed by the rubric "Vespres du saint esperit," written in dark brown ink in a *bastarda* script on 16 lines, ruled in reddish brown ink, justification 93 x 60 mm, with red rubrics, one-line initials in blue with white tracery and ivy-leaf fill on a burnished gold ground, and line endings of three types: simple fleurettes, gray and red diamonds on a

burnished gold ground, and ivy leaves on a burnished gold ground. Under the miniature on the verso is the opening line of the prayer at Vespers of the Holy Spirit: "Deus in adiutorium meum intende domine ad adiutum." Written in an early seventeenth-century hand in ink in the upper right corner of the recto: 89. Two sets of stitching holes and pricking marks along the right edge of the verso.

The miniature is in good condition. The margin surrounding it is soiled, especially in the upper corners, and most of the faces, some of the garments, the background wall of the Cité, and parts of the sky and river have oxidized, but there are no major losses.¹ The stitching holes and pricking marks along the right edge of the verso, as well as the generous



No. 4, verso



No. 4, recto

margins and the remains of gilding on the left edge, suggest that the width corresponds with the width of the original manuscript. The top and bottom margins have been trimmed, probably by a total of about 16 millimeters.²

PROVENANCE: Étienne Chevalier (ca. 1410–1474); Nicolas Chevalier, baron of Crissé (1562–1630); his nephew by marriage the seigneur of Longueil; Louis Fenoulhet, Shoreham, Sussex (sale, Sotheby's, London, 18 December 1946, lot 568, ill.). Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1946.

EXHIBITED: Baltimore 1949, no. 106, pl. 45; Paris 1957, no. 152, pl. 76; New York 1974, no. 1; New York 1982–83, no. 41, fig. 41.

LITERATURE: "A Romantic Find: Two of the Missing Fouquet Miniatures from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier," *Illustrated London News* 209 (30 November 1946), pp. 610–11, ill.; Cogniat 1947, pp. 34, 54, colorpl. p. 34; Porcher 1947; Wescher 1947, p. 99, pl. 14; Porcher 1947–48, ill.; Ring (1949) 1979, p. 212, under no. 130; Heinrich 1954, p. 224, cover ill.; Taylor 1954, colorpl. p. 140; Courthion 1957, pp. 28, 127, n. 23, colorpl. p. 29; Gilou 1961, ill. p. 136; Levallois 1961, colorpl. p. 136; Castelnuovo 1966, pls. 2–4; Schaefer 1971, no. 23; Schaefer 1972, pp. 230–38; König 1974, pp. 172–75; Büttner 1975, pp. 89, 97, 98, 99, 100, 104–5, n. 43; Reynaud in Paris 1981, pp. 48, 85, n. 41; Schaefer and De Hamel 1981, pp. 198, 199; Sotheby's sale 1981, under lot 37; New York 1982–83, p. 31, under no. 42; Lombardi 1983, pp. 112, 115, pl. 100; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 156, nn. 1, 17, under no. 19; De Hamel (1986) 1994, p. 190; Deutsch 1986, p. 91; Hibbard 1986, pp. 181, 183, fig. 341; Avril, Gousset, and Guenée 1987, p. 30, n. 6; Metropolitan Museum 1987, pp. 132–33, pl. 98; Clancy 1988, p. 80, n. 9, fig. 126; Sauerländer 1989, pp. 154–55, fig. 159; Bazin 1990, p. 68, color ill.; Fleming 1991, p. 92, ill.; Waldman 1992, pp. 9, 10, fig. 10; Clancy 1993, pp. 18, 20, 27, nn. 11, 12, fig. 8; Paris 1993–94, p. 135, under no. 68; Marrow and Avril 1994, pp. 44, 103, n. 64; Schaefer 1994, p. 86, colorpl. 49.

On its verso, this leaf represents an unusual subject, which Reynaud identified in 1981, that illustrates Vespers of the Hours of the Holy Spirit: the right hand of God protecting the faithful against the demons. The faithful stand in the foreground, looking upward as the hand of God points down at them from the center of the sky, while demons flee to the left and right. Across the river in the background is a view of the Île de la Cité that is extraordinary for its topographic accuracy. The accomplished style of the painting, the generous proportions of the page, the fine script, and the bold treatment of the borders work together to produce a tour de force of the art of illumination that has long been recognized to have come from the famous Hours commissioned by Étienne Chevalier (ca. 1410–1474), a wealthy court official who after holding a variety of posts in the service of King Charles VII was named treasurer of France

in 1452. Chevalier's name or his monogram, *ee* or *EE*, is inscribed on almost every page of the book, sometimes along with his coat of arms or his portrait.³

Because the Hours of Étienne Chevalier makes no reference to Chevalier's wife, Catherine Budé, who was killed in an accident in 1452, and because the first king in one of the illuminations, the *Adoration of the Magi* (Musée Condé, Chantilly), appears to be a likeness of Charles VII, who died in 1461, the manuscript is traditionally dated 1452–60.⁴ (This long time span would account for the change in the design of the miniatures, some of which have text in the center of the page and others of which, probably painted later, have text at the bottom.) The manuscript has always been attributed to the painter Jean Fouquet, who worked in Tours, on the basis of its close rapport with the *Antiquités judaïques* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fr. 247, N. a. fr. 21013) that is one of only two documented works by him.⁵ (The second is a self-portrait on a medallion in the Louvre.)⁶ Forty-nine detached leaves are known to have survived from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier: forty-seven full-page miniatures with text on the reverse and two pages with text and illuminated borders on both sides. Fouquet is credited with painting all of the miniatures and perhaps also some or all of the borders.⁷

The Hours of Étienne Chevalier apparently remained in his family until the seventeenth century, when the Chevalier library was dispersed, probably by Nicolas Chevalier's nephew by marriage the seigneur of Longueil, who inherited it in 1630. Like his forebear, Nicolas Chevalier (1562–1630), baron of Crissé, was a well-known connoisseur and bibliophile. The art historian Roger de Gaignières, who died in 1715, was able to examine the Chevalier manuscript in its entirety, but by 1731, when Montfaucon referred to Gaignières's description of one of the miniatures, no trace of it could be found.⁸ Sometime during the eighteenth century, the book was dismembered. Perhaps at the Benedictine monastery of the congregation of Saint-Maur in Paris, the area of text in the middle of many of the pages was covered with cuttings from other fifteenth-century manuscripts or overpainted with eighteenth-century floral decorations.⁹ Forty of the full-page miniatures were subsequently mounted on wooden boards by a framemaker in Paris whom Ribault has identified as "le menuisier Basset."¹⁰ About 1805 (the date has been given variously as 1803, 1805, and 1816) the Basel art dealer Peter Birman sold these forty to the banker Georg Brentano of Frankfurt. They have been housed at

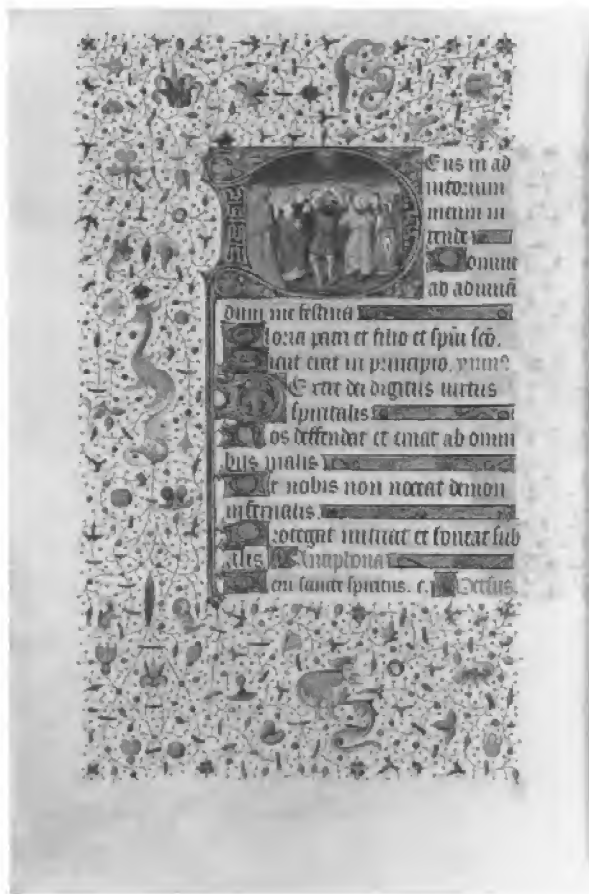


Fig. 4.1 *God Protecting the Faithful in an Initial D.* Hours of Louis of Savoy, fol. 105v. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Lat. 9473

the Château de Chantilly, now the Musée Condé, since 1891, when Brentano's son, Louis, sold them for 200,000 German marks to the duke of Aumale, who bequeathed them, along with all the other treasures he collected at Chantilly, to the Institut de France.¹¹ Most of the forty miniatures at Chantilly remain mounted on boards, so that their versos are inaccessible.¹²

Four of the nine other surviving leaves, none of them mounted, found their way to England, certainly by the nineteenth century. The Lehman leaf is one of those four, as is the *Saint Veranus* that was sold with it at Sotheby's in London in 1946 and is now in the Wildenstein Collection at the Musée Marmottan, Paris (no. 153).¹³ The British Library bought another, *King David in Prayer* (Add. MS 37421), in 1886,¹⁴ and *Saint Michael and His Angels Fighting the Dragon*, now in the Bearsted Collection at Upton House (National Trust, 184), turned up at Maggs Brothers in London in 1923.¹⁵ Three additional

leaves came to light in France in the late nineteenth century. Two of them – *The Charity of Saint Martin* and *Saint Margaret and the Prefect Olybrius*, both mounted, the *Saint Margaret* half the size of the others and cropped to its edges – are in the Cabinet des Dessins in the Louvre (R.F. 1679, M.I. 1093).¹⁶ The third – a loose sheet with the miniature *Saint Anne and the Three Marys* – is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (N. a. lat. 1416).¹⁷ A hitherto unrecorded bifolio of text (Fig. 4.3) from the Penitential Psalms (Psalm 101:24–29 and Psalm 129:1–5) and Litany (the end of the invocations of female saints and part of the prayers at the end of the Litany) that had been in a private collection in Switzerland was offered for sale in 1981 at Sotheby's in London and is now in a private collection in Belgium.¹⁸ The discovery offers hope that the remainder of the Hours of Étienne Chevalier might yet come to light.

Martin made an attempt to reconstruct the Hours of Étienne Chevalier in 1926, on the basis of the subjects of the forty-five miniatures then known. His reconstruction was reasonably accurate, although he was wrong about the placement of *Saint Stephen and Étienne Chevalier Before the Virgin* (a double miniature) and the *Annunciation* (which he thought prefaced the Obsecro te and Matins of the Hours of the Virgin, respectively),¹⁹ and he inexplicably took the *Road to Calvary* to be an illustration of Sext of the Hours of the Cross.²⁰ (Later commentators have considered it, correctly, to be an illustration of Terce of the Hours of the Cross.) He assumed that the manuscript must have been prefaced by a Calendar, no trace of which has survived, probably followed by:

- Gospel Sequences
- Obsecro te
- O intemerata
- Hours of the Virgin
- Hours of the Cross
- Hours of the Holy Spirit
- Office of the Virgin for Advent
- Seven Penitential Psalms and the Litany
- Office of the Dead
- Stabat Mater and other short prayers
- Verses of Saint Bernard
- Suffrages to the Saints

Martin foresaw an illustration at Vespers of the Holy Spirit, but he conjectured, wrongly as it turned out, that the subject might be Christ's Descent into Limbo, the Last Supper, or perhaps Saint Peter Celebrating Mass.²¹

The text on the back of the Lehman miniature and the folio numbers written in an early seventeenth-century hand in the upper right corner of the recto of both it and the *Saint Veranus* in the Musée Marmottan – 89 (given in the 1946 sale catalogue as “8(?)9, the latter numeral partly cut away”) on the Lehman leaf and 185 on the *Saint Veranus* – prompted speculation about the sequence of the extant leaves and the number of missing leaves. Since the two leaves resurfaced on the London art market in 1946 there have been four attempts to reconstruct the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, by Schaefer, König, Reynaud, and De Hamel.

Schaefer's reconstruction, in 1971 and 1972, essentially followed Martin's. Like Martin, he assumed that the Hours of the Virgin, the Cross, and the Holy Spirit succeeded one another in the manuscript. He intercalated the Lehman leaf, which, following Porcher, he titled *The Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Faithful*, into Martin's sequence of illustrations for the Hours of the Holy Spirit. He thought that the text of the hymn at Vespers of the Hours of the Holy Spirit may have inspired the unusual subject of the miniature, but then proceeded to explicate the iconography of all four miniatures illustrating the Hours of the Holy Spirit as having derived from a passage in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* that says that the Holy Spirit was sent to the apostles three times: before the Passion (Prime: *Pentecost*), after the Resurrection (None: *Fountain of the Apostles*), and after the Ascension (Vespers: *Descent of the Holy Ghost*).²² The fourth miniature, the *Adoration of the Holy Ghost* at Compline, concludes the sequence by presenting the dove carrying the light of the world above the faithful Christians who kneel in prayer.²³

König's reconstruction of the Chevalier Hours in 1974, in his review of Schaefer's 1971 book, fundamentally altered our understanding of the original manuscript.²⁴ König recognized the text on the recto of the Lehman leaf as the end of the prayer for Vespers of the Hours of the Cross, followed by the red rubric “Vespres du saint esperit.” The rubric announces the beginning of the prayer at Vespers of the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the opening words of which, “Deus in adiutorium meum intende domine ad adiutum,” appear beneath the miniature on the verso. This discovery enabled König to conclude that the Hours of the Virgin, the Cross, and the Holy Spirit, and their accompanying miniatures, had proceeded in alternation in the manuscript, as is characteristic of so-called mixed Hours.²⁵ He further concluded that because there are full cycles of eight minia-

tures for the Hours of the Virgin and seven for the Hours of the Cross there must have been a full cycle for the Hours of the Holy Spirit, of which three are still missing: the miniature for Matins and two of the four miniatures for Prime, Terce, Sext, and None. As had Schaefer, König placed the Lehman leaf at Vespers and the *Adoration of the Holy Ghost* at Compline. Though he had no doubt that the *Fountain of the Apostles* and the *Adoration of the Holy Ghost* illustrated the Hours of the Holy Spirit, he said that it was impossible, from either an iconographic or a codicological standpoint, to determine whether they were meant to accompany Prime, Terce, Sext, or None. He also stressed the importance of other textual elements for understanding the original manuscript. For example, he observed that the remnants of the letters of the text for the opening of Matins of the Hours of the Virgin, “Domine labia mea aperies,” appear under the facing miniatures depicting Saint Stephen and Étienne Chevalier before the Virgin (Musée Condé), which had previously been thought to have prefaced the *Obsecro te*.²⁶

In 1981 Reynaud added yet another dimension to our understanding of the Hours of Étienne Chevalier when she noted that the miniatures that illustrate the Hours of the Holy Spirit are in fact captivating visualizations of the texts of the hymns with which they begin.²⁷ The hymn at Vespers, as it appears in the contemporary Hours of Louis of Savoy (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Lat. 9473, fol. 105v; Fig. 4.1),²⁸ for example, describes exactly the iconography of the Lehman leaf:

The finger of God's right hand, the ghostly
virtue still,
Us defend, and set us free from every kind of ill:
To the end the hellish ghost do us no hurtful deed;
Under his wings he us keep, and there us nurse
and feed.²⁹

Now that Reynaud has correctly identified the subject of the miniature as the right hand of God protecting the faithful against the demons, it no longer seems feasible to maintain, as Sterling suggested and Schaefer affirmed, that Fouquet was alluding to the liberation of Paris from the English.³⁰

Reynaud agreed in general with König's reconstruction of the order of the manuscript, but from the texts of the hymns she was able to reorganize the sequence of the extant miniatures for the Hours of the Holy Spirit (beginning with the *Annunciation* that Martin, Schaefer, and König had all thought was an illustration of Matins

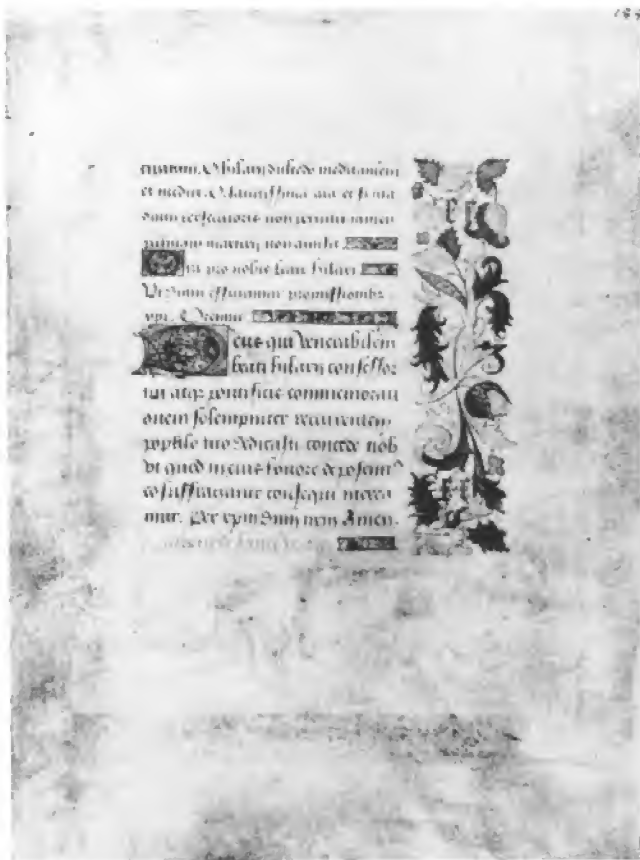


Fig. 4.2 Suffrage to Saint Hilary (leaf from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, recto). Musée Marmottan, Paris, Wildenstein Collection, no. 153

of the Hours of the Virgin) and to suggest the subjects of those that are missing:

Matins: Annunciation³¹

Prime: Appearance of Christ in the Cenacle (missing)

Terce: Pentecost³²

Sext: Dispersion or Preaching of the Apostles (missing)

None: Fountain of the Apostles³³

Vespers: Right Hand of God Protecting the Faithful
Against the Demons (the Lehman leaf)

Compline: The Faithful Guided by the Holy Spirit
until the Last Judgment³⁴

The subjects of the miniatures and the text of the hymns for Sext through Compline are the same in the Hours of Louis of Savoy, although because the illuminations are five-line historiated initials the scenes are considerably abbreviated. The miniature at Vespers of the Holy Spirit (Fig. 4.1) in the Hours of Louis of Savoy (fol. 105v) likewise depicts God protecting the faithful. Matins, however, is illustrated with a large miniature (fol. 102) representing the Tree of Jesse in which the

Virgin appears surrounded by prophets who hold banderoles naming the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit. The miniature is accompanied by a historiated initial depicting the Pentecost.

Reynaud was undoubtedly right in placing the *Annunciation* from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier at Matins of the Hours of the Holy Spirit, as the first line of the text for Matins, “Domine labia mea,” can be read below the miniature. She may not have been right about the sequence of miniatures and hymns at Prime and Terce, which in the Hours of Louis of Savoy (fol. 103) is the reverse of what she proposed for the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, but that slight variation in no way detracts from the merit of her astute reconstruction.

Also in 1981, De Hamel offered a clever and complicated interpretation of the extant codicological data on the Chevalier Hours, especially the evidence provided by the newly found bifolio of text.³⁵ By comparing the text line by line with a Fouquet-style Book of Hours in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. s. n. 13247), with the same “mixed” Hours text,³⁶ he was able to attempt the following hypothetical collation of the manuscript, which, he guessed, consisted of a total of 190 leaves:

i–ii⁶ (fols. 1–12): Calendar

iii⁸ (fols. 13–20): Gospel Sequences

iv⁴ (fols. 21–24): Obsecro te with a miniature (now lost)

v–xiii⁸ (fols. 25–96): “mixed” Hours of the Virgin, the Cross, and the Holy Spirit (ending on fol. 95r); Office of Advent (beginning on fol. 95v)

xiv⁶ (fols. 97–102): end of the Office of Advent

xv–xxv⁸ (fols. 103–90): Seven Penitential Psalms, Office of the Dead, miscellaneous prayers such as the Stabat Mater and the Verses of Saint Bernard, and the Suffrages

In De Hamel’s reconstruction the Lehman leaf fits neatly in the right half of the middle bifolio in the twelfth gathering, which like most of the gatherings in the book was a quaternion. In order to place the Lehman leaf where he did, however, De Hamel had to assume that the number written in a seventeenth-century hand in its upper right corner is 85, and not 89, as some others have supposed.³⁷ (De Hamel himself first gave the number as “85” or just possibly “89.”) Comparing the number with the unmistakable 185 on the recto of the leaf in the Musée Marmottan (Fig. 4.2) and the 117 on the right-hand leaf of the bifolio of text sold in 1981 (Fig. 4.3), two of the few leaves from the Chevalier Hours on

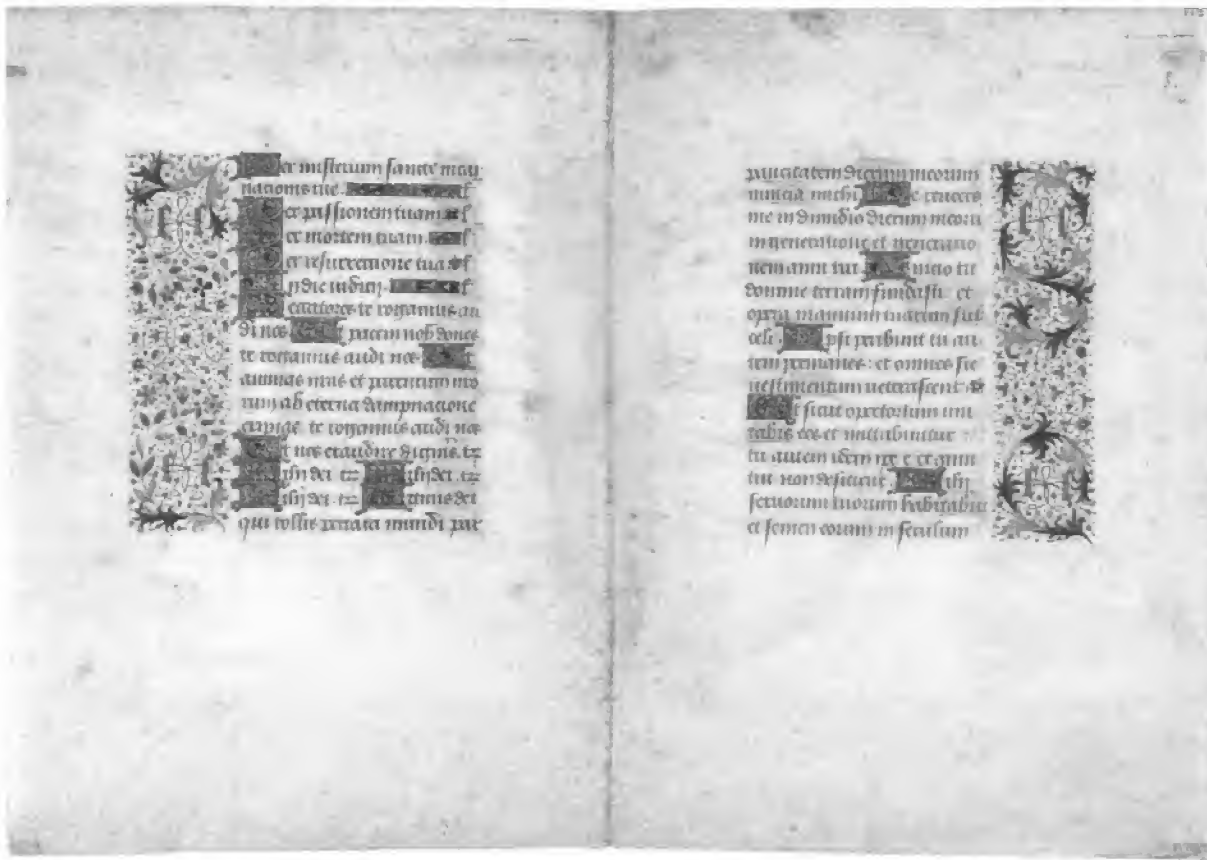


Fig. 4.3 Penitential Psalms and Litany (bifolium from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier). Private collection, Belgium. Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London

which the old foliation has not been trimmed off, shows that the last digit is more likely a 9 than a 5. The curved stroke that forms the bottom of the 5 in 185 rests on the same level as the curved bottom of the 8, whereas the descenders on the second digit on our leaf and the 7 in 117 drop below the imaginary line on which the other numbers sit (see Fig. 4.4).

Reading the number on the Lehman leaf as 89 forces a reconsideration of De Hamel's proposed order. His reconstruction is probably correct for folios 1–20, including the Calendar and the Gospel Sequences, but the composition of the rest of the book is uncertain. De Hamel assumed that the Obsecro te and a (lost) minia-

ture prefaced the “mixed” Hours text, as is the case in the related manuscript in Vienna, but the Obsecro te could just as easily have followed the Hours, as it does in other Fouquet-style books. He also calculated, again on the basis of the Vienna text, that Matins of the Hours of the Virgin occupied eleven folios (25v–35v). But if one calculates the length of Matins on the basis of another Fouquet-style book, an Hours in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 13305) in which Matins comprises nine psalms rather than three, then it could have taken up nearly twice the number of folios.³⁸ This change in itself would necessitate moving the Obsecro te to the back of the book.

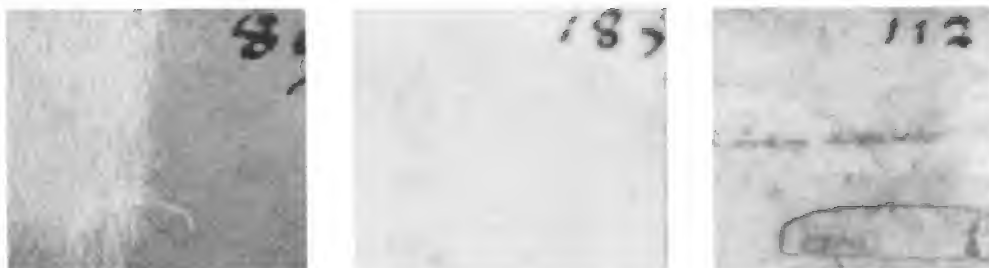


Fig. 4.4 Details of folios at upper right on versos of (from left to right) No. 4, Fig. 4.2, and Fig. 4.3

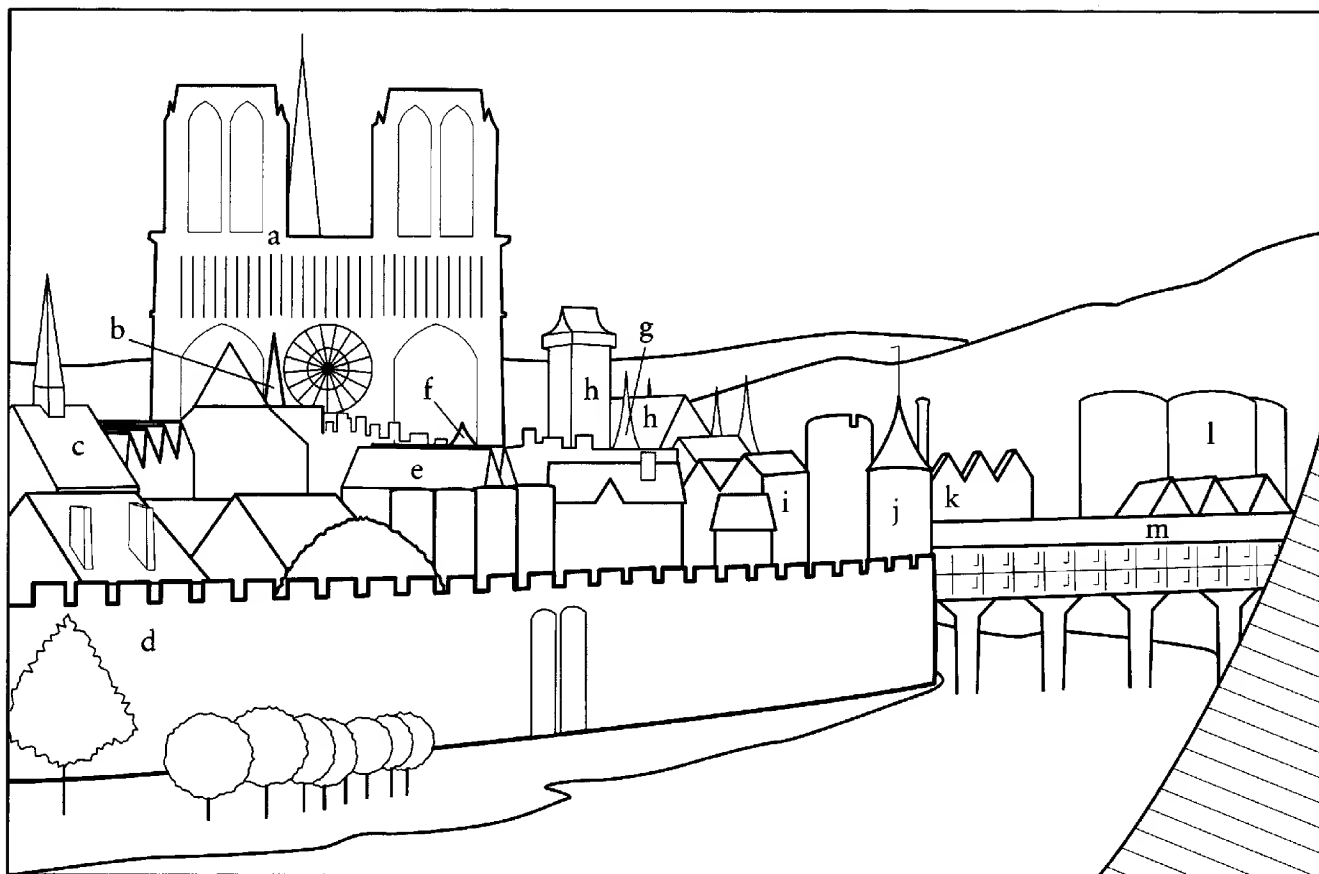


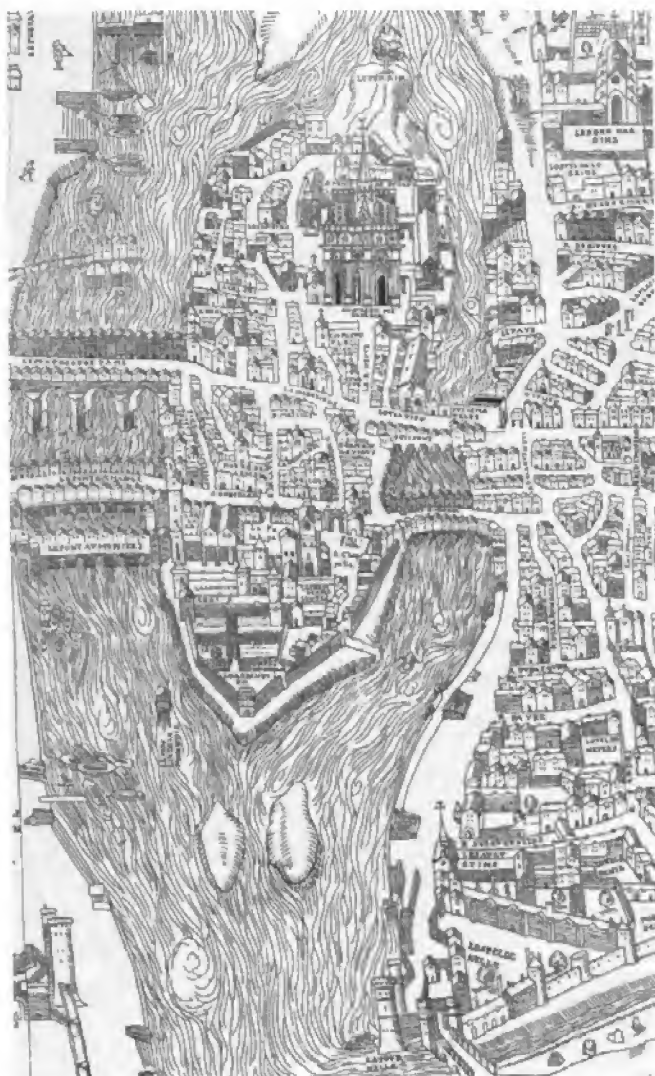
Fig. 4.5 Diagram of the Paris buildings shown in No. 4: *a.* Notre-Dame *b.* Saint-Christophe *c.* Sainte-Chapelle (or Saint-Michel?) *d.* wall of Palace *e.* Saint-Michel(?) *f.* Saint-Germain-le-Vieux *g.* Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents *h.* bishop's palace *i.* Hôtel Dieu *j.* tower near corner of wall *k.* houses on Petit Pont *l.* Petit-Châtelet *m.* Pont Saint-Michel

Fig. 4.6 (opposite) Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau, "Plan of Paris [ca. 1552]" (detail). Reproduced from F. Hoffbauer, *Plan de Paris . . .* (Paris, 1877), pp. [4, 5], courtesy of the General Research Division, New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

Furthermore, De Hamel adhered to the view, first presented by Martin in 1926 and commonly accepted ever since, that the Advent Office of the Virgin, illustrated by the miniature *Marriage of the Virgin*, followed the text of the Hours of the Virgin, the Cross, and the Holy Spirit. In spite of Martin's assertion to the contrary, however, the Advent Office is extremely rare.³⁹ (It does not even appear in the Vienna Hours that De Hamel used as a model for the collation of the Hours of Étienne Chevalier.) Among the many French Books of Hours in Paris I have found no other example of this text illustrated with this particular subject. The miniature most closely related to the *Marriage of the Virgin* from the Chevalier Hours prefaces the equally rare text of the Hours of Joseph in the Fouquet-style Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Lat. 13305, fol. 118). In any case, the text of the Advent Office is not fixed, so that

even if we could be sure that it was included in the Chevalier Hours we could only guess at its length.

As tempting as it might be to propose a collation for the Hours of Étienne Chevalier, there are simply too many lacunae in the manuscript to be able to do so with any measure of accuracy, particularly given that one of the interesting features of Fouquet-style Hours is the considerable variation of text and illumination from one to the other. An accurate reconstruction of the manuscript must therefore await further evidence. Such a reconstruction will have to take into account not only the number 89 on the Lehman leaf but also a detail that Reynaud noted in 1981: the catchwords on two of the miniatures from the Suffrages, the *Birth of John the Baptist* and the *Consecration of Saint Nicholas* (both Musée Condé), that mean the two leaves fell at the ends of two different quires.⁴⁰



The two sets of stitching holes on the jagged gutter edge of the Lehman leaf confirm De Hamel's hypothesis, based on his study of the pricking marks and the gilt edges on the leaf at Upton House and the bifolio of text sold in 1981, that the Hours of Étienne Chevalier was bound twice before being dismembered: once when the book was made, with a (colored textile?) binding sewn on three bands, and once, perhaps in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, with a brown leather binding sewn on four double bands. The manuscript may have been rebound for Nicolas Chevalier, who, De Hamel reports, "had his own books bound in full brown calf gilt, with line borders and his name in gilt on both covers."⁴¹

One of the most extraordinary features of the miniature is the unique topographic view of Paris that it presents. In 1947–48, shortly after the Lehman leaf became known, Porcher – who suggested that the Lehman

miniature must have been painted in about 1460, because Fouquet was in Paris in 1461 to paint the effigy of King Charles VII – was able to identify many of the buildings it depicts with the aid of the so-called Plan de Tapisserie of 1540 (which is not generally regarded as the most accurate of the early plans of Paris)⁴² and Bertý and Tisserand's *Topographie historique du vieux Paris* of 1887. Porcher pointed out that the crowd stands on the terrace of the Hôtel de Nesle. He identified the façade of Notre-Dame de Paris on the Île de la Cité, with its spire that was destroyed at the end of the eighteenth century, and (from left to right), the church of Saint-Michel, the houses along the rue Barillerie, the towers at the corners of the Palace, and the Pont Saint-Michel. Behind the Pont Saint-Michel on the left bank is the Petit-Châtelet, between Notre-Dame and the Petit-Châtelet on the right bank is the episcopal palace with its rectangular tower, and in front of Notre-Dame is the bell tower of the church of Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents. As Porcher also noted, the hills in the right background are imaginary.

A few modifications can be made to Porcher's findings based on a comparison of the Lehman leaf and the earliest plan of Paris (Figs. 4.5, 4.6), which was published about 1552 by Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau and was rediscovered in Bâle in the nineteenth century (and which Cousin suggested was a copy of a plan Henry II ordered in an edict of 1550).⁴³ The larger church to the left of Sainte-Geneviève in front of Notre-Dame is probably Saint-Christophe. Between Saint-Christophe and the bishop's palace may be Saint-Germain-le-Vieux. To the left of the Pont Saint-Michel is the Hôtel Dieu, and the church next to Saint-Germain-le-Vieux may be Saint-Michel. The church at the far left, which Porcher identified as Saint-Michel, may instead be the Sainte-Chapelle. Although the location is not quite right, the spire is too high to belong to any other church in the vicinity, and we know that Fouquet took other liberties with the setting. Not only are the hills imaginary, but the houses on the Pont Saint-Michel are depicted in all the early plans with individual gabled roofs, rather than the shared roofline that Fouquet has given them. The houses were constructed during the reigns of Charles V and Charles VI, beginning in 1378. They were destroyed in 1407, rebuilt, then destroyed again in 1547 and rebuilt. According to Sauval, writing in 1724, many of the shopkeepers who served the needs of the Palace on the nearby Cité lived in the houses on the bridge. In general, however, Fouquet's view of medieval Paris is extremely accurate (compare, for example,

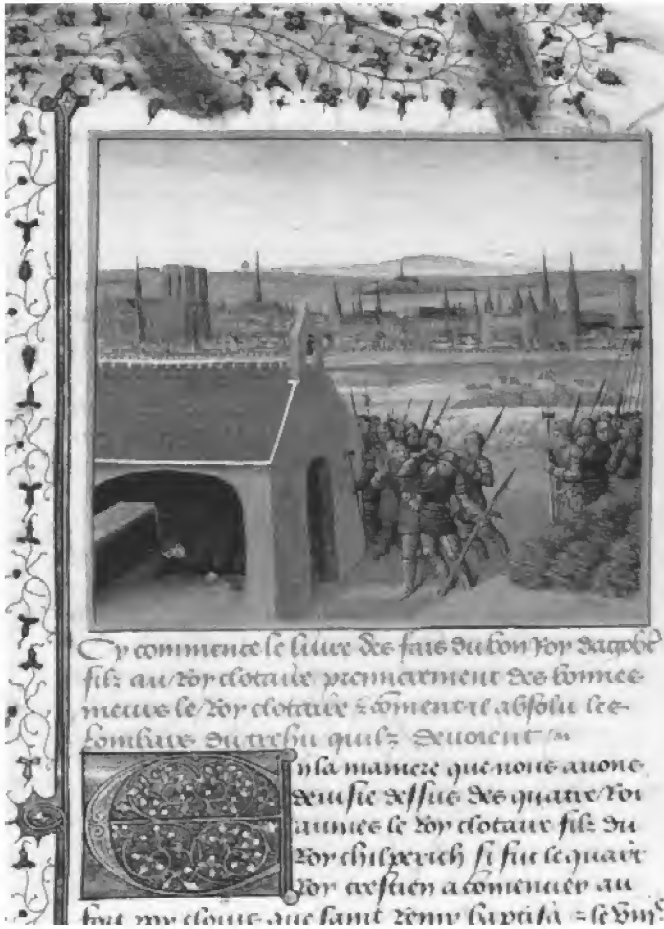


Fig. 4.7 Jean Fouquet, *Clothaire Finding His Son Dagobert Asleep in the Tomb of Saint Denis*. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, fol. 57 (detail). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 6465

Fig. 4.8 Jean Fouquet, *The Effusion of the Holy Spirit on the Faithful and the Infidels*. Enamel medallion. Formerly Schlossmuseum, Berlin (destroyed 1945). Reproduced from Klaus G. Perls, *Jean Fouquet* (London, 1940), fig. 45



the number and structure of the pillars supporting the bridge in the miniature and in the plan) and could well have been, as Porcher suggested, “peint d’après nature.”⁴⁴

In works created for the royal circle in the middle of the fifteenth century it was fashionable to include monuments of the city of Paris, which was recovering from the Hundred Years’ War and asserting its civic pride as the historic capital of the realm.⁴⁵ Many other miniatures in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier display contemporary monuments. For example, the scene in *Job on His Dungheap* takes place outside the keep of the Château de Vincennes.⁴⁶ A view of Paris from the Hôtel de Nesle to the cathedral of Notre-Dame appears in the background of *The Martyrdom of Saint James the Major*.⁴⁷ The interior of Notre-Dame provides the setting for *Saint Veranus Curing the Insane*.⁴⁸ The Hôtel de Nesle, the Louvre, the Petit-Bourbon, and the Palace form part of the landscape that unfolds behind the Crucifixion and Saints Louis, John the Baptist, Denis, and Charlemagne in the Altarpiece of the Parliament of Paris, which was

painted, probably about 1450, for the Great Hall of the Parliament.⁴⁹ The extraordinary view of the city that appears in the Lehman leaf is closest to the scene in *Clothaire Finding His Son Dagobert Asleep in the Tomb of Saint Denis* (Fig. 4.7) from *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fr. 6465, fol. 57), also executed by Fouquet, in which the same buildings are seen from the north instead of from the west.⁵⁰

Fouquet may have chosen to gather the faithful on the terrace of the Hôtel de Nesle at least in part as a tribute to the donor. The spectacular view from the terrace of the imposing Hôtel de Nesle, a well-known monument in medieval France, took in the Chambre des Comptes on the Île de la Cité, the building in which Étienne Chevalier would have carried out his official duties in his new role as treasurer of France. As treasurer Chevalier may have had access to the Hôtel, which appears to have reverted to the Crown at the death of each of its successive owners and may have been in the domain of the king in the 1450s.⁵¹ (Chevalier had his own house

in Paris, on the rue de la Verrerie, quite far from the Hôtel de Nesle.)⁵² The similarity between this miniature and the scene on a medallion (Fig. 4.8) thought to have adorned the original frame of the Melun Diptych, which Chevalier probably commissioned from Fouquet about the same time he ordered his Book of Hours, reinforces the idea that the subject, too, held some personal meaning for him.⁵³ Whatever Fouquet's reason for choosing the subject and the setting, this miniature is indisputable evidence of his talent for representation and the eye for detail that set him apart from his contemporaries.

NOTES:

1. Attempts by the Paper Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum to reverse the oxidation by traditional methods in 1982 were unsuccessful, possibly because the lead carbonate has been converted into another, less easily treated compound.
2. Based on the height of two text leaves from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier that were sold at Sotheby's in London on 14 July 1981 (lot 37, ill. facing p. 25 and frontis.) and on the evidence of the stitching holes, De Hamel (Sotheby's sale 1981, p. 28) has estimated that the original volume measured 210 x 148 mm. In 1972, before the discovery of the text leaves, Schaefer (vol. 2, p. 182) had proposed that the dimensions were 203 x 148 mm.
3. Reynaud (in Paris 1981, p. 84, n. 132) has argued convincingly that the monogram is indeed *ee* or *EE*, and not *EC* (for either Étienne Chevalier or Étienne and Catherine [Budé, his wife]), because the monogram repeated on the S-shaped banderole in the *Pietà* from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier (Musée Condé, Chantilly; Schaefer 1971, no. 19) is unequivocally a double capital E, and because in the fifteenth century Catherine would have been spelled with a K, not a C.
4. On the history of the manuscript, with earlier bibliography, see Martin 1926, pp. 5–8; Schaefer 1971, pp. 17–20; De Hamel in Sotheby's sale 1981; Reynaud in Paris 1981, pp. 46–47; Ribault 1981; Schaefer and De Hamel 1981; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 151–56, under no. 19; Bazin 1990; and Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, pp. 136–38, no. 69.
5. Paris 1981, pp. 66–70, no. 23, ill.; Paris 1993–94, pp. 140–43, no. 71, color ill. (fols. 135v, 230v).
6. Louvre, OA56; Paris 1981, pp. 22–27, no. 6, ill.; Paris 1993–94, color ill. p. 130.
7. Reynaud (in Paris 1981, pp. 47, 85, n. 135) called the illuminated borders “assurément autographes (mêmes pigments, même modelé).” For other borders attributed to Fouquet, see Clancy 1993.
8. Montfaucon 1731, p. 253 (cited by De Hamel in Sotheby's sale 1981, p. 25, and Ribault 1981); Adhémar 1974 (cited in Schaefer and De Hamel 1981, p. 196, n. 11).
9. Meurgey (1930, p. 92, quoted in Schaefer 1971, pp. 19, 123, n. 8) observed that “if several congregations adopted the heart as their emblem, . . . only the congregation of Benedictines at Saint Maur always used the word *PAX*, decorated with a *fleur de lys* and three nails,” that was added to the *Pietà* (Musée Condé; Schaefer 1971, no. 19), *The Charity of Saint Martin* (Louvre, R.F.1679; *ibid.*, no. 36), and *The Martyrdom of Saint Apollonia* (Musée Condé; *ibid.*, no. 45) from the Hours of Étienne Chevalier. Schaefer includes a list of the miniatures with repainted roses and palmettes or pasted-on pieces of border.
10. Ribault 1981. The framer's label remains on the wooden backing of several of the Chantilly miniatures; the most complete label is on the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Schaefer 1971, no. 13).
11. Waagen 1837, vol. 1, p. 514; Wescher 1947, p. 21; De Hamel in Sotheby's sale 1981, p. 26; Bazin 1990, pp. 9–10. All of the Chantilly miniatures are reproduced in the facsimile Schaefer published in 1971 (nos. 1–22, 24, 25, 27, 29–35, 37, 38, 40–42, 45–47) and in Bazin's facsimile of 1990, which reproduces the liquid gold less well but often shows more of the existing surface of the sheets.
12. De Hamel in Sotheby's sale 1981, pp. 26–28. De Hamel was able to examine the backs of several miniatures at Chantilly that had been detached from their wooden mounts. He mentions having seen the backs of Schaefer 1971, nos. 11, 20–23, 27, 28, 39, and 47. Schaefer also reported in 1981 that some years before, he had had an infrared photograph taken of the *Visitation* (Musée Condé; *ibid.*, no. 7) that allowed him to read the text on the reverse and to determine that “il s'agit en effet d'*Heures* ‘mixtes’ à l'usage de Paris” (Schaefer and De Hamel 1981, p. 194). Bazin (1990, p. 11) reports that in 1978 two attempts were made to remove the sheets from their supports and that “les feuilles se recroquevillèrent en forme de nid d'abeilles” (the pages crumpled into the shape of beehives).
13. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 18 December 1946, lot 569, pls. 15, 16; Schaefer 1971, no. 39; Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 153; Bazin 1990, pp. 106–7, color ill.
14. Martin 1926, pp. 8, 42, fig. 24; Schaefer 1971, no. 26; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 151–56, no. 19, colorpl. 24; Bazin 1990, pp. 74–75, color ill.; Paris 1993–94, pp. 133–36, no. 68A, color ill.
15. Martin 1926, pp. 17, 63, fig. 45; Schaefer 1971, no. 28; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 154, figs. 19d, 19e; Bazin 1990, pp. 82–83, color ill.
16. Martin 1926, pp. 7–8, 57, 60, figs. 39, 42; Schaefer 1971, nos. 36, 43; Bazin 1990, pp. 98–99, 110–11, color ills.; Paris 1993–94, pp. 30–31, 133–36, nos. 68B, 68D, color ills.
17. Martin 1926, pp. 8, 61, fig. 43; Schaefer 1971, no. 44; Bazin 1990, pp. 114–15, color ills.; Paris 1993–94, pp. 133–36, no. 68C, color ill.
18. Sale, Tenner, Heidelberg, 22 April 1969, lot 44; Sotheby's sale 1981, lot 37, ill. facing p. 25 and frontis. See also Schaefer and De Hamel 1981; Shenker 1989, pp. 64–66; and Bazin 1990, pp. 12–13, color ill.
19. Martin 1926, pp. 22–24, figs. 4–6; Schaefer 1971, nos. 4–6; Bazin 1990, pp. 30–33, color ills.
20. Martin 1926, pp. 13, 35, fig. 17; Schaefer 1971, no. 16; Bazin 1990, pp. 34–35, color ill.
21. Martin 1926, pp. 16–17.

22. Schaefer 1971, nos. 21–23; Schaefer 1972, pp. 230–38; Bazin 1990, pp. 64–69, color ill. See also Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1260) 1993, vol. 1, pp. 302–3.
23. Schaefer 1971, no. 24; Bazin 1990, pp. 70–71, color ill.
24. König 1974, especially pp. 172–76.
25. On “mixed” Hours, see Delaissé 1974, especially p. 206.
26. Schaefer 1971, nos. 4–5; König 1974, pp. 174–75. In 1975 Büttner also emphasized the importance of interpreting textual elements to gain a fuller understanding of the original manuscript, and he published the texts of all the extant leaves of the Chevalier Hours in a valuable appendix.
27. Reynaud in Paris 1981, pp. 47–48, 85, n. 141. See also Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, p. 134.
28. Leroquais 1927, vol. 1, pp. 293–98, vol. [3], pls. 57–64; Paris 1993–94, pp. 207–9, no. 114.
29. Translation from *The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie, in Latin and English* (Antwerp, 1650).
30. Sterling in Schaefer 1971, p. 16; *ibid.*, no. 23.
31. *Ibid.*, no. 6.
32. *Ibid.*, no. 21.
33. *Ibid.*, no. 22.
34. *Ibid.*, no. 24.
35. De Hamel in Sotheby’s sale 1981, pp. 29–32; Schaefer and De Hamel 1981, pp. 198–99.
36. Pächt and Thoss 1974, pp. 164–66, pls. 368–75, colorpl. 8.
37. Miner (in Baltimore 1949, no. 106, p. 40) also read the number as 89.
38. Leroquais 1927, vol. 2, pp. 141–43.
39. Martin 1926, p. 14.
40. Schaefer 1971, nos. 29, 37; Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, p. 133, under no. 68. The catchwords are visible on the new photographs of the miniatures without their frames that Bazin published in 1990 (pp. 85, 101, color ills.).
41. Schaefer and De Hamel 1981, pp. 197–98; see also De Hamel in Sotheby’s sale 1981, p. 28.
42. Franklin 1869; Cousin 1875. The original Plan de Tapisserie was destroyed, but there is a seventeenth-century copy of it drawn by Roger de Gaignières in the Cabinet d’Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Va 420), and a more recent tapestry copy in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
43. Cousin 1875; Hoffbauer 1877; Derens 1986. I thank William Clark of Queens College, New York, for his assistance with the topography of medieval Paris.
44. Porcher 1947–48, p. 47. On the bridge, see Sauval 1724, vol. 1, pp. 225–27; see also Leleux n.d., pp. 326–27. For a history of many of these buildings, along with historic plans and topographic views, see Le Roux de Lincy and Tisserand 1867 and Berty and Tisserand 1887.
45. Paris buildings also appear in miniatures attributed to the artist known as the Dunois Master or the Chief Associate of the Bedford Master (see No. 3), who was Fouquet’s contemporary and sometime collaborator: in the Benedictinal that was begun for the duke of Bedford and completed for Jacques Jouvenel des Ursins (d. 1449), bishop of Poitiers and president of the Chambre des Comptes in Paris (destroyed in 1871; see Firmin-Didot 1861); the now dismembered Book of Hours made for another, unidentified member of the Jouvenel des Ursins family (see Paris 1993–94, pp. 36–37); and the Book of Hours made for Jean Dunois (British Library, London, Yates Thompson MS 3; see No. 3, note 7).
46. Schaefer 1971, no. 47; Bazin 1990, pp. 78–79, color ill.
47. Schaefer 1971, no. 34; Avril, Gousset, and Guenée 1987, pp. 29–30, ill.; Bazin 1990, pp. 92–93, color ill.
48. Schaefer 1971, no. 39; Bazin 1990, pp. 106–7, color ill.
49. Louvre, R.F.2065; Sterling and Adhémar 1965, pp. 17–18, no. 43, pls. 120–27; Sterling 1990, pp. 36–49, colorpl. 10.
50. On the *Grandes Chroniques*, see Babeau 1897; Durrieu 1916; Paris 1981, no. 21; Avril, Gousset, and Guenée 1987, especially pp. 29–31; and Paris 1993–94, pp. 139–40, no. 70, color ills.
51. See Berty and Tisserand 1887, pp. 45–50. In the fourteenth century the Hôtel de Nesle belonged to Jean, duke of Berry, who purchased it from Charles VI. In 1446 King Charles VII gave it to Francis I, duke of Brittany, who died in 1450. In 1461 King Louis XI gave it to Charles of Burgundy, count of Charolais. We do not know who owned or lived in the building in the 1450s, when the Hours of Étienne Chevalier was executed.
52. Godefroy 1661, p. 886.
53. Perls 1940, fig. 45; Paris 1981, pp. 23–24, no. 6A, ill.

Master of Guillaume Lambert

Lyons, active 1480s

The Master of Guillaume Lambert was named by Plummer for a scribe who signed himself Guillaume Lambert “de Lyon” and wrote the date 1484 in the Calendar of a Book of Hours he transcribed, probably for his own use.¹ The same scribe called himself a “clerc

escrivain de lettre de forme” in a Missal made for use in Autun that was completed in 1466.² The Book of Hours was sold at Bernard Quaritch’s in London in 1931. Its whereabouts are unknown, but based on the full description in the sale catalogue and the two minia-

tures illustrated there, twenty-six manuscripts and a handful of single leaves have been attributed to the Master of Guillaume Lambert and his associates in Lyons. Their unusual gold architectural frames, with sides composed of rectilinear piers often incorporating sculpted figures beneath canopies and the opening words of the various Offices written in a distinctive rectilinear script across the bottom, have become the hallmarks of the miniatures produced by this prolific atelier, which was in business by 1478 (the date recorded in several of the manuscripts) and appears to have been most active in the 1480s.

In 1993 Jacobs proposed that the output of the Guillaume Lambert workshop can be divided into three subgroups based on the style of the miniatures.³ The first and second subgroups are by artists she calls the Getty Master (after J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 10, a Book of Hours)⁴ and the Rosenberg Master (after two Books of Hours in the Alexandre P. Rosenberg collection, New York, MSS 5, 6), respectively.⁵ She attributes the third subgroup – at least eleven and possibly thirteen manuscripts and four detached leaves – to the Master of Guillaume Lambert, but acknowledges that further study may show that these illuminations are by more than one hand. Many of the miniatures in the Lambert Master group are close-up views of three-quarter-length figures that derive ultimately from Flemish prototypes that had been adapted in France by followers of Jean Fouquet (see No. 4) and were then used by Jean Bourdichon (ca. 1457–1520/21).⁶ The palette and the physiognomy of the figures also reveal a debt to Fouquet and other Loire valley artists like Jean Colombe (ca. 1435–1493/98) of Bourges.

The Guillaume Lambert workshop served an unusually varied clientele. As Avril has noted, the workshop produced Books of Hours undoubtedly for local use, but more often its clients, who commissioned not just Books of Hours but also religious treatises and historical chronicles, were from outside Lyons.⁷ The atelier executed manuscripts for luminaries of the Bourbon court like Antoine de Lévis, count of Villars;⁸ for royal functionaries like the *trésorier des guerres* Geoffroy de La Croix;⁹ for Italian patrons;¹⁰ and for wealthy bourgeoisie like the Molé family of Troyes in Champagne, on one occasion in collaboration with Jean Colombe.¹¹ Judging by the related manuscripts produced in other

centers, most notably Rouen, the workshop's influence on other artists was also widespread.¹²

NOTES:

1. Quaritch catalogue 1931, lot 47, ill.; Plummer in New York 1982–83, p. 77, under no. 99; Jacobs 1993, fig. 2 (fol. 75v).
2. Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyons, MS 516; New York 1982–83, p. 77, under no. 99.
3. See Jacobs 1993, especially the list of manuscripts, broken down into the three subgroups, on p. 77. Avril (Paris 1993–94, p. 358) has since added to the list a copy of the *Chroniques de France abrégées* (Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MS 3034) and a Book of Hours made for a cadet of the Molé family of Troyes (Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron, Rodez, MS 1; *ibid.*, pp. 335–36, no. 184, ill. [fols. 38v, 169v]). Fifteen of the sixteen miniatures in the Hours in Rodez are attributable to Jean Colombe.
4. Several folios from Getty MS 10 are reproduced in Jacobs 1993.
5. New York 1982–83, pp. 77–78, nos. 100, 101, ill.; Jacobs 1993, figs. 18 (6, fol. 50v), 20 (5, fol. 60), 26 (5, fol. 22).
6. See Avril in Paris 1993–94, pp. 358–59.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fr. 989 (Pierre Thomas, *Défense de la Conception immaculée de la Vierge Marie*); *ibid.*, pp. 360–61, no. 200, ill. (fol. 3).
9. Bibliothèque Municipale, Lunel, MS 9 (a Book of Hours); Avril 1987; Jacobs 1993, figs. 5 (p. 167), 7 (p. 215), 17 (p. 71), 19 (p. 124), 21 (p. 175), 23 (p. 132).
10. Three Books of Hours in the group have Easter calculations and lunar calendars in Italian: Getty MS 10; Vatican Library, Lat. 3780; and Badia di Cava, Cava de' Tirreni, MS 45. Jacobs (1993, p. 77) attributes the first, which can be dated 1478, to the Getty Master and the other two, dated 1478 and 1482 respectively, to the Rosenberg Master. See also Avril in Paris 1993–94, p. 358.
11. The Molé family ordered at least three manuscripts from the workshop: a copy of Jean Gerson's *Passion de Nostre Seigneur* that bears the arms of Guillaume II Molé and his wife Simone Le Boucherat (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 25), and two Books of Hours: Rosenberg MS 5 and Rodez MS 1 (see notes 5 and 3 above); see Avril in Paris 1993–94, pp. 335, 358–59, 361.
12. See, for example, a Book of Hours that in 1978 was in the collection of Frank Kamarcik, Saint Paul (Minneapolis 1978, pp. 89–95, no. 20, color frontis., figs. 66–68 [as Rouen, ca. 1500]), and another in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W.245; Randall 1992, pp. 321–28, no. 168, figs. 294–96 [as Loire region, for use of Angers, late fifteenth century]).



No. 5, recto



No. 5, verso

Master of Guillaume Lambert
France, Lyons, ca. 1485

5. Virgin and Child Leaf from a Book of Hours

1975.1.2466

Verso: Obsecro te (incomplete) with, to the left, a panel border of floral and acanthus patterns set into geometric trefoil shapes on a liquid gold and particolored ground.

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 134 x 82 mm, miniature 116 x 61 mm. Below the miniature on the recto are the opening words of the Obsecro te: "Obsecro te d[omi]na s[an]c[t]a m[at]er m[ari]a." The prayer continues on the verso: "dei pietate plenissima . . . quando tibi per," written in dark brown ink in a *gotica bastarda* book hand on 16 lines, ruling no longer visible, justification 75 x 47 mm, no rubrics. In the lower right corner on the recto, what appears to be a handwritten letter D (a collector's mark?).

The sheet has been trimmed. The miniature has suffered losses of pigment on the Child's lower body; the Virgin's face, neck, and left shoulder and the right side of her garment; and the right-hand side of the frame, where flaking has resulted in the loss of the lower prophet and the canopied niche that held him. The leaf was once folded, for it is creased across the bottom quarter, along the right edge where the architectural frame meets the miniature, and along the left edge through the middle of the frame. On the verso adhesive residues remain along the outer edges, where the miniature was once pasted down. The top right corner is broken.

PROVENANCE: Bourgeois collection, Paris; private collection, England. Acquired by Robert Lehman as a gift, probably in the 1960s.¹

LITERATURE: Wescher 1945, pp. 87, 108, pl. 70; Wescher 1947, pp. 85, 108, pl. 72 (in both as by Jean Bourdichon); Burin 1989, pp. 19, 125, no. 15;² Jacobs 1993, p. 77 (as Master of Guillaume Lambert).



Fig. 5.1 Master of Guillaume Lambert, *A Donor* (leaf from a Book of Hours). Musée Rolin, Autun, s.E. 207, Collection Bulliot



Fig. 5.2 Master of Guillaume Lambert, *Saint John on Patmos* (leaf from a Book of Hours). Bibliothèque de la Société Éduenne, Autun, Recueil de Miniatures Bulliot, folio 5

The gold architectural frame, the text on the frame's lower band, the facial type of the Virgin, and other stylistic mannerisms link this miniature with a body of work that has been assembled based on a manuscript that was sold at Quaritch's in London in 1931 and has since disappeared, the Calendar of which is signed by a scribe called Guillaume Lambert "de Lyon."³

Jacobs has recently attributed the work of what may well have been an atelier run by a scribe-stationer named Guillaume Lambert to three separate artists, whom she calls the Getty Master, the Rosenberg Master, and the Master of Guillaume Lambert.⁴ She includes the Lehman *Virgin and Child* in the third group of manuscripts and leaves (which may actually be by more than one hand), with which it shares certain idiosyncrasies of composition and palette. This three-quarter-length depic-

tion of the Virgin and Child is similar in conception, for example, to the *Virgin and Child* (Fig. 5.4) in a Book of Hours in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen (MS 3027 [Leber 141], fol. 23),⁵ although in most of the other manuscripts in the group a *Pietà* rather than a *Virgin and Child* illustrates the Obsecro te.⁶ The pretty, finely rendered face and small, delicate hands of the Virgin in the Lehman miniature are closer to those of the Virgin in the *Nativity* in the Rouen Hours (fol. 57; Fig. 5.5). The gold teardrop decoration on the brick red drapery that serves as a backdrop in the Lehman *Virgin and Child* is echoed in canopies or cloths of honor in other miniatures attributed to the Lambert Master, for instance the *Annunciation* (Fig. 5.6) in a Book of Hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (N. a. lat. 3117, fol. 22);⁷ the *Coronation of the Virgin* in an Hours in the Pierpont



Fig. 5.3 Master of Guillaume Lambert, *The Annunciation* (leaf from a Book of Hours). Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, MS 371. Copyright IRPA-KIK-Brussels

Morgan Library, New York (M.83, fol. 84v);⁸ and the *Adoration of the Magi* in another in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. s. n. 2598, fol. 54).⁹ Border decoration similar to the panel on the text page on the verso of the Lehman leaf also appears in the Paris and New York manuscripts, although only on pages on which there is a small miniature, the pages with text alone being without borders.

The illuminated text page means that the Book of Hours this sheet is from must have been a deluxe commission. Among the manuscripts that have been attributed to the Lambert workshop only a Book of Hours in the collection of Alexandre P. Rosenberg in New York (MS 5) has illuminated borders on its text pages.¹⁰ The Rosenberg Hours, in which the entwined initials G and M and the motto “en attendant” appear throughout, was, according to Avril, commissioned by a member of the Molé family, who were wealthy merchants in Troyes in Champagne.¹¹ Like the Rosenberg Hours, the manu-

script from which the Lehman leaf was removed was too luxurious to have been bought ready-made and was probably commissioned for a particular patron. That patron was probably the donor pictured kneeling in prayer in a miniature (Fig. 5.1) in the Musée Rolin, Autun (S.E. 207),¹² that is one of three leaves that belong to the same dismantled Book of Hours as the Lehman leaf. The second leaf, with a depiction of Saint John on Patmos (Fig. 5.2), is in the Société Éduenne in Autun (Recueil de Miniatures, 5),¹³ and the third, with an *Annunciation* (Fig. 5.3), is in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp (MS 371).¹⁴

The two leaves in Autun are laid down on card, but the parchment is so transparent that what is on the versos can be seen through the miniatures. The Antwerp leaf is loose and both sides of it can be studied. All three leaves have nearly the same dimensions as the Lehman leaf (about 132–40 x 80–86 mm; the miniatures measuring about 112–14 x 59–63 mm). The versos all have sixteen lines of text in a *gotica bastarda* written by the same scribe in an area 47 by 75 millimeters, and they are all decorated with borders of flowers and acanthus leaves on a liquid gold ground. Identically constructed prismatic frames, with two sculpted figures one above the other on each of the piers at the sides, surround the miniatures on all four leaves.¹⁵

The dismembered Book of Hours these miniatures are from was among the more splendid productions of the Master of Guillaume Lambert. That there were full-page miniatures of the Evangelists (see Fig. 5.2) argues for a rich cycle of pictures; other Books of Hours attributed to the Lambert Master have only small miniatures of the Evangelists positioned within the text.¹⁶ The donor in the miniature in the Musée Rolin (Fig. 5.1) is probably a likeness of the French seigneur, perhaps of Lyons, who commissioned the book and whose shield (*Azure a Chief Argent over all a Bull rampant Or surmounted by a Chevron Gules*) hangs from the tree in the background.¹⁷ The miniature is very likely the left side of a double-page frontispiece, or diptych; the picture of the donor, inscribed in Latin at the bottom “O Mother of God, remember me,” may have faced the *Annunciation* now in Antwerp (Fig. 5.3), or even the Lehman *Virgin and Child*, although the Virgin is out of scale and would have dwarfed the figure of the donor. Such diptychs usually embellished only the most lavish Books of Hours made in Paris or the Loire valley, the most famous of which is the Hours of Étienne Chevalier illuminated by Jean Fouquet (see No. 4). In the Hours of Anne de Beaujeu (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.677,



Figs. 5.4 and 5.5 Master of Guillaume Lambert, *Virgin and Child* (above) and *The Nativity* (above right). Book of Hours, fols. 23, 57. Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen, MS 3027 (Leber 141)

fols. 42v–43), a manuscript that has been attributed to the Bourges artist Jean Colombe (ca. 1435–1493/98) and his assistants and dated to about 1473, Anne is depicted kneeling before the Virgin Mary in the double-page setting of an *Annunciation*.¹⁸

The striking similarity between the *Virgin and Child* in the Beaujeu Hours (fol. 98; Fig. 5.7) and the Lehman miniature, which has the same composition, albeit partially in reverse, confirms Jacobs's observation that although all three of the hands that can be identified in the Lambert atelier production were influenced by Colombe, the Master of Guillaume Lambert's absorption of his art was the more thoroughgoing.¹⁹ The Virgin in the Lehman miniature has a fuller face and wider eyes, and the modeling is a little less refined, but the Child's arms and legs and the pose of the Virgin and the elaborate design of her crown and halo are the same in both miniatures. The *Saint John on Patmos* (Fig. 5.2) in Autun also reveals the Master of Guillaume Lambert's extensive study



Fig. 5.6 Master of Guillaume Lambert, *The Annunciation*. Book of Hours, fol. 22. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, N. a. lat. 3117



Fig. 5.7 Jean Colombe, *Virgin and Child*. Hours of Anne de Beaujeu, fol. 98. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.677

of Colombe's art, transforming a model that extends back to the Chief Associate of the Bedford Master (see No. 3) through Fouquet to Colombe.²⁰ The shimmering liquid gold modeling on the soft drapery and the exquisite landscape, the barren hills covered with yellow rocks softly bathed in a golden light and the aqua sea dotted with ships, evoke Colombe's miniatures not only in the Hours of Anne de Beaujeu but also in the Book of Hours that was begun for Louis of Laval, governor of Champagne, about 1470–75 and finished between 1485 and 1489 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Lat. 920).²¹

The elaborate architectural frames on the miniatures in the Laval Hours further reinforce the link between the illuminators of Bourges and Lyons. Also about 1485 Jean Colombe in fact collaborated with the Lambert workshop on a Book of Hours (Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron, Rodez, MS 1) commissioned by another client from Champagne, a cadet of the same Molé family who ordered the Book of Hours in the Rosenberg collection (MS 5). Avril has recently added the Rodez Hours to the list of manuscripts produced by the Lambert atelier, and he believes that one of the artists in the workshop painted the portrait, near the end of the book (fol. 169v), of a young donor wear-



Fig. 5.8 Jean Bourdichon, *The Virgin Between the Two Saints John*. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, 9047

ing a costume virtually identical to that of the donor in the Lehman miniature's sister leaf in the Musée Rolin (Fig. 5.1). He attributes all fifteen of the remaining miniatures in the manuscript, however, to Colombe. Given his connection with the court of Savoy, that Colombe spent some time in Lyons in the mid-1480s working at the Lambert atelier does not, as Avril has said, seem an unreasonable hypothesis.²²

The Lehman *Virgin and Child*, adapted from Colombe's model, offers a clue to understanding the also still obscure phenomenon of the diffusion of artistic styles from Bourges and Lyons to Tours at the turn of the fifteenth century. As Wescher observed in 1945 when he attributed the Lehman leaf, wrongly as it turns out, to Jean Bourdichon, there is an unmistakable similarity in the pose of the Christ Child in the miniature and that of the Child in the triptych *The Virgin Between the Two Saints John* in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples (Fig. 5.8), which is the only panel painting accepted as being by Bourdichon, who was active in Tours between about 1478 and 1520 or 1521.²³ Reynaud suggests that one of the entourage who followed Frederick, king of the Two Sicilies (r. 1496–1501), to Tours when he was exiled there in 1501 may have ordered the triptych and then transported it to Naples after Frederick's death in 1504.²⁴

NOTES:

1. In the German edition of his book (1945, p. 87), Wescher gave the location of this leaf as formerly Paris, collection Bourgeois; in the English translation (1947, p. 85) he said it was in a private collection in England. The leaf is listed neither in De Ricci's *Census* (1935–40) nor in the supplement to the *Census* that Bond and Faye published in 1962, so Robert Lehman must have acquired it (when and from whom are not known) sometime after 1962.
2. Burin quoted the unpublished text of this catalogue entry in her dissertation.
3. Quaritch catalogue 1931, lot 47, ill.
4. Jacobs 1993, especially p. 77. It was De Hamel ([1986] 1994, pp. 197–98) who advanced the idea that Guillaume Lambert was a stationer, or bookseller.
5. Bibliothèques Publiques de France 1885–1965, vol. 2 (Rouen), pp. 73–74.
6. For example, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.83, fol. 169 (see note 8 below); Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. s. n. 2598, fol. 20 (see note 9 below); J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 10, fol. 159 (see Jacobs 1993); and Bibliothèque Municipale, Lunel, MS 5, fol. 27 (Bibliothèques Publiques de France 1885–1965, vol. 31 [Lunel], pp. 166–67; Avril 1987), the first two by the Lambert Master, the third by the Getty Master, and the fourth by the Rosenberg Master.
7. Quaritch catalogue 1931, lot 48; Porcher 1961, pp. 111–12, no. 23, pl. 77.
8. New York 1982–83, pp. 76–77, no. 99.
9. Pächt and Thoss 1977, pp. 142–47, figs. 85–88, pls. 302–22, colorpl. 8.
10. New York 1982–83, pp. 77–78, no. 100, ill.; Jacobs 1993, figs. 20 (fol. 60), 26 (fol. 22).
11. Avril in Paris 1993–94, pp. 335, 359.
12. Autun 1985, pp. 58–59, no. 45, ill.
13. Ibid., no. 46, ill. See also Autun 1994 and Autun 1995.
14. Coe 1965, p. 365, no. 376a; Coe 1978, p. 188. That the leaves in Autun were both gifts of the Rérolle Bulliot family (to the Société Éduenne in 1902, the Musée Rolin in 1914–19) and that the Museum Mayer van den Bergh purchased its leaf in 1898, with the entire collection of the Parisian Carlo Micheli, might be clues to locating the parent manuscript or other leaves from it.
15. The piers in the frames of most of the Lambert workshop miniatures incorporate only one figure in a canopied niche. The two-tiered variation was also used in Rosenberg MS 5 (see note 10 above), Rouen MS 3027 (see note 5 above), Getty MS 10 (see note 6 above), and in some of the miniatures in Lunel MS 5 (see note 6 above).
16. See, for example, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, N. a. 3117, fols. 14, 15v, 17, 19.
17. In Autun 1985, p. 58, no. 45, the shield is described as “d’azur au chef d’argent surmontant un chevron de gueules coupant un taureau d’or.”
18. Schaefer 1977, especially pp. 143–44, figs. 8–10 (fols. 46, 148, 98); New York 1982–83, pp. 53–54, no. 70, ill. (fols. 42v–43, 77v, 196). The Beaujeu Hours can be securely dated to about 1473 because Anne of France (1461–1522), daughter of Louis XI and Charlotte of Savoy, was married to Pierre de Beaujeu in 1474, and her husband's coat of arms does not appear in the manuscript.
19. Jacobs 1993, p. 76. On Colombe's life and activity, see Schaefer 1973; Schaefer 1974; Schaefer 1977; Schaefer 1980; New York 1982–83, pp. 3–31, 41–42, 51–54, nos. 42, 54, 68–70; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 157–62, no. 20; Randall 1992, pp. 282–92, nos. 159, 160; and Paris 1993–94, pp. 326–38, nos. 179–86.
20. See the *Saint John on Patmos* by the Chief Associate of the Bedford Master in the Hours of Simon de Varie (Marrow and Avril 1994, pl. 19) and Jean Fouquet's version in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier (Schaefer 1971, pl. 1). The composition was also copied in a manuscript made in Rouen about 1500 (Minneapolis 1978, pp. 89–95, no. 20, color frontis.).
21. Avril in Paris 1993–94, pp. 328–32, no. 179, ill. (fols. 116v, 266v, 306).
22. Ibid., pp. 335–36, no. 184, ill. (fols. 38v, 169v).
23. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples, 9047; Limousin 1954, pp. 38–39, figs. 24–27.
24. Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, pp. 296–97, under no. 163 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Lat. 10532, a Book of Hours that Bourdichon, in collaboration with the Italian artist Giovanni Todeschino, illuminated for Frederick, most likely while he was in Tours).

France, Provence(?)

ca. 1480–85

6. Saint Anthony

Leaf from a Book of Hours

1975.I.2467

Recto: Suffrage to Saint Claude (incomplete).

Tempera and liquid gold on parchment. 158 x 108 mm, miniature without frame 75 x 74 mm. On the recto is the last part of the Suffrage to Saint Claude: “ram lumen cecorum auditus . . . postulaverimus suis meritis et i-,” written in dark brown ink in a formal cursive script approaching *gotica bastarda* on 24 lines, ruled in red ink, justification 108 x 68 mm, with red rubrics and two- and three-line initials in rust and liquid gold on a blue ground or rust and blue on a liquid gold ground. The Suffrage to Saint Claude ends with “tercessione . . . dominum nostrum” in a band superimposed on the top of the liquid gold and simulated marble architectural frame inlaid with trompe-l’oeil jewels and precious stones that surrounds the miniature on the verso. Below the miniature the Suffrage to Saint Anthony begins with the rubric “De sancto anthonio” and continues with “Anthoni pastor melite.”

The condition of the miniature on the verso is excellent. The leaf has been trimmed to the outer edge of the architectural frame on the miniature. There are some adhesive residues and fragments of a paper or parchment tab along the right margin of the recto and a green stain in the upper left corner.

PROVENANCE: [Les Frères Kalebldjian, Paris (no. H-1b)]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Kalebldjian in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 169 (as French [Bourges or Tours], influenced by Jean Bourdichon, ca. 1500); Cincinnati 1959, no. 348, ill. (as Jean Bourdichon).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1718 (as from a Book of Hours written in France, ca. 1510); Paris 1993–94, p. 371, under no. 209 (as Master of the Paris *Coeur d'Amour épris*, 1480s).

This little known and virtually unstudied leaf comes from the same Book of Hours as thirty-one leaves that R. E. Hart bequeathed in 1946 to the Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery in Blackburn, England (Hart 20984).¹ The Blackburn leaves remain today in the same nineteenth-century binding by F. Bedford that was described in the catalogue of the 1922 Sotheby's sale at which Hart acquired them. They are bound as a picture book, with all the miniatures on right-hand pages regardless of their position in the original manuscript.²

The Blackburn miniatures are all contained within architectural frames similar in both color and ornamentation to the one on the Lehman *Saint Anthony*. The other frames differ in size and style, ranging from Gothic to Renaissance, but those on the *Saint Anthony* and the

Saint George in Blackburn (Fig. 6.1) are nearly identical. Because it has been so radically trimmed, the Lehman leaf is smaller than the leaves in Blackburn, which measure about 188 by 128 millimeters, but it has approximately the same dimensions as the framed miniatures, which vary somewhat in size (155–62 x 111–16 mm). The text on the Lehman leaf and on those in Blackburn was written by the same scribe in an area 108 by 68 millimeters that is ruled in red ink for twenty-four lines per page, with rust, gold, and blue two- and three-line foliate initials. Why the Lehman leaf should have been separated from the others, probably in the nineteenth century, perhaps had something to do with the band of text above the miniature. None of the other pages have



No. 6, recto



No. 6, verso

text at the top of the page, and it is possible that whoever fashioned the picture book of miniatures considered this one either too distinctive or too much like a text page.

The sequence of miniatures in the original manuscript can be partly reconstructed both from the seventeenth-century foliation that appears in the upper right-hand corners of many of the leaves in Blackburn and from the occasional textual run-ons. The invocation to Saint Anthony that opens below the Lehman miniature, ending with the words "cruciatos reficis," continues onto the other side of the *Saint George* in the Blackburn book (Fig. 6.1) with the text "morbos sanas et destruis

ignis calorem extinguis" and ends at the center of the page above the rubric "de sancto georgio antiphona." The miniature side of the Lehman leaf, which would have faced the text side of the Blackburn leaf, is therefore the verso, and the text side is the recto. The wider left-hand side of the frame would have been on the outside of the leaf and the narrower right-hand edge would have abutted the inner margin. The page that once preceded the Lehman leaf unfortunately has not survived among the leaves in the Blackburn Hours. Because the text of each suffrage fills approximately one side of a leaf, leaving the other side free for a miniature, we can



Fig. 6.1 Conclusion of Suffrage to Saint Anthony (recto); *Saint George* (verso). Blackburn Hours, fol. 25. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Blackburn, England, ms Hart 20984



surmise that a miniature depicting Saint Claude would have faced the prayer to Saint Claude that begins on the recto of the Lehman leaf and ends with a band of text above the miniature of Saint Anthony on the verso. We cannot determine the original folio numbers of these leaves because the seventeenth-century foliation ceases after the first leaf of the Hours of the Holy Spirit (now fol. 12), which would have preceded the Suffrages.

In 1976 Ker reconstructed the original sequence of the Blackburn leaves and, on the basis of the text that remains, proposed that the book was missing miniatures depicting Saints Stephen, Christopher, Denis, Anthony, and Jerome.³ We can now delete Anthony from that list and add Claude. Another leaf from the same Book of Hours, with a miniature of David Slaying Goliath (Fig. 6.2) below which are three lines that open the Seven Penitential Psalms, was in the collection of Robert Forrer in Strasbourg in the early 1900s.⁴ The Forrer collection was disbanded about 1920 and the present whereabouts of the leaf are not known, but its existence and the discovery of the Lehman leaf are grounds

for cautious optimism about the eventual recovery of other leaves from the book.

Avril has included the Lehman *Saint Anthony*, the ex-Forrer *David Slaying Goliath*, and the thirty-one Blackburn leaves in a small but coherent group of manuscripts he recently attributed to the artist who painted the copy of *Le Coeur d'Amour épris* – the allegorical romance composed in 1457 by René (1409–1480), duke of Anjou, count of Provence, and king of Naples – that is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fr. 24399).⁵ Also attributable to the same artist or his workshop are a now lost *Vie de Saint François* that was on the London art market in 1937;⁶ a Book of Hours in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Toulouse (ms 135);⁷ and a lavishly illustrated copy of *Le Trésor de Sapience* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fr. 1367)⁸ that, like the Paris *Coeur*, bespeaks a court patronage. The manuscripts in this group share compositions, trompe-l'oeil frames, and similar figure types, landscapes, and secondary decoration. As Avril has pointed out, the composition of the *David Slaying Goliath* (Fig. 6.2) reappears in



Fig. 6.2 *David Slaying Goliath* (leaf from a Book of Hours). Present location unknown. Reproduced from Robert Forrer, *Unedierte Federzeichnungen, Miniaturen, und Initialen des Mittelalters . . .* (Strasbourg, 1902–7), vol. 1, no. 35



Fig. 6.3 *The Archangel Michael*. Blackburn Hours, fol. 24. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Blackburn, England, MS Hart 20984

abridged form on folio 88 of the *Trésor de Sapience*. The Renaissance arch in the author portrait on the opening page of the *Trésor* (Fig. 6.7), with its massive piers inset with richly colored marble and topped with ornamented capitals, is not unlike the architectural frame on the Lehman miniature, and the figures of the author and Saint Anthony are both characteristically small boned and fine featured and enveloped in supple, voluminous drapery delicately modeled with liquid gold. The scenes in the *Saint Anthony* and the *Author Addressing a Lady* from the Paris *Coeur d'Amour épris* (fol. 54v; Fig. 6.8) are both set in barren landscapes of primitive rock formations washed in velvety tones of gray blue and moss green. Initials infilled with diverse floral motifs set on a highly burnished gold-leaf ground embellish the text in the *Coeur* and the *Trésor* and on the Blackburn leaves.

Avril hypothesized that this enigmatic artist most likely worked in Provence, in part because he appears to have had access to the famous copy of the *Coeur* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 2597) that was painted for René d'Anjou himself by his court

painter Barthélemy d'Eyck in the 1460s and that René presumably took to Provence, along with the rest of his library, when he retired there in the early 1470s.⁹ That the Master of the Paris *Coeur d'Amour épris* worked in Provence is also borne out by the similarity between his style and that of Georges Trubert, who was “enlumineur en titre” for René from 1467 until the king's death in 1480 and then stayed on in Provence for another decade.¹⁰ If the Paris copy of the *Coeur* is datable as late as between 1480 and 1485, as Avril suggests, then neither René, who died in 1480, nor his successor, his nephew Charles IV of Maine (the last member of the Anjou family to hold the title of count of Provence), who died in 1481, was likely to have been its patron. The shifting fortunes of the house of Anjou-Provence, however, and the lack of evidence in the manuscript itself make it impossible either to name the patron or to localize the artist's atelier. Avril surmises only that the Paris *Coeur* must have been illuminated for someone close to René. Châtelet has proposed that the book was made in Lorraine for René's grandson René II of Anjou



Figs. 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 *Saint Matthew* (above left), *Saint Luke* (above right), and *Pietà* (below). Blackburn Hours, fols. 1, 3, and 20. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Blackburn, England, MS Hart 20984

(1473–1508), who was evicted from Provence when Louis XI reannexed it to France in 1481 and who probably acquired the Vienna *Coeur* after the deaths of René and his nephew.¹¹

Unfortunately, what remains of the Blackburn Book of Hours is also of little help in establishing when and where it was executed, because most of the texts used to determine liturgical use – the Calendar, the antiphons and capitula of the Hours of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, the Litany, and the Obsecro te – are missing, and the fragments of the Suffrages that have survived are for the most part too general to point to local devotions. The prayer to Claude, who was archbishop of Besançon, on the Lehman leaf presents some evidence, for this suffrage is common in books made for use in eastern France, particularly in Besançon and Savoy.¹² Alexander observed in 1976 that in the miniature depicting the archangel Michael in the Blackburn book (Fig. 6.3) the saint carries a shield with the arms of Savoy: *Gules a Cross Argent*.¹³

Even if the patron of the Blackburn Hours can be shown to have been from eastern France, the artist may of course have lived and worked elsewhere. That he was





En le tresor de sapience vault mettre en la main
de sa memoire et l'ensapientoir des sages
des tables de son cuer esclairer. Sur toutes
chose il doit fuir fuir de confusion Car
elle engendre ignorance et est max doubliee
Mais distinguer distinctions enlumine l'entendement : con
ferme memoire Car ordonnance fait les choses veoir ainsi
comme elles sont et les met en veritee et en l'ordre recort

Fig. 6.7 Master of the Paris *Coeur d'Amour épris*,
Author Portrait. Le Trésor de Sapience, fol. 1 (detail).
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 1367



For parli l'auteur et dit ainsi que
Ces paroles le cuer incitentent mis
me a terre tout courroucie et vergonchi
se de ce que tant avoit mis et marché
droit a la mer et entra en la nasse et ses deux
autres compaignons furent suentement ainsi

Fig. 6.8 Master of the Paris *Coeur d'Amour épris*, *The Author Addressing a Lady*. René d'Anjou, *Le Coeur d'Amour épris*, fol. 54v (detail). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 24399



Fig. 6.9 Jean Fouquet, *Saint Luke*. Hours of Jean Robertet,
fol. 15. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.834



Fig. 6.10 Jean Fouquet, *Pietà*. Hours of Jean Robertet,
fol. 21. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.834

steeped in the stylistic traditions of central France, especially the art of Jean Fouquet, suggests that he may have worked or been trained in the Loire valley, possibly in Tours or in Bourges, where Fouquet's influence was most immediate. The Blackburn miniatures incorporate several designs borrowed from the Robertet Hours (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.834), which was executed, in two separate campaigns, by Fouquet and Jean Colombe.¹⁴ Fouquet and an assistant contributed the first eight or nine miniatures in about 1460 for an unidentified donor, and Colombe illuminated the remainder of the manuscript between about 1465 and 1470 for Jean Robertet, secretary to Jean II, duke of Bourbon, and later to Louis XI, and his wife, Louise Chauvret. The figure of the Evangelist in the *Saint Luke* in the Robertet Hours (fol. 15; Fig. 6.9) was the model for the figure of Saint Matthew in a Blackburn miniature (Fig. 6.4), and Fouquet's ox from the Robertet *Saint Luke* appears in the *Saint Luke* in Blackburn (Fig. 6.5). The angel with his arms crossed who stands next to Saint Matthew in the Blackburn leaf (Fig. 6.4) was a favorite motif of Fouquet's that appears in the miniatures by him or his assistant in the Robertet Hours, for example the *Virgin and Child* on folio 25. (Colombe used a similar angel in the *Coronation of the Virgin* he painted for the Robertet Hours [fol. 76v].) Fouquet's *Pietà* flanked by two gilded angels in the Robertet Hours (fol. 21; Fig. 6.10) served as the model for the miniature of the same subject in Blackburn (Fig. 6.6). If he did eventually become attached to the court in Provence or Lorraine, our artist had first thoroughly assimilated Fouquet's art.

NOTES:

1. Sale, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London, 19–21 June 1922, lot 433 (ex coll. Mrs. Simpson Rostron, South Warnborough Manor, Basingstoke); Ker 1969–83, vol. 2, pp. 101–2; Manchester 1976, pp. 32–33, no. 61, pl. 15. These bound leaves are not included in the short cata-

logue of an exhibition of manuscripts and books from the Hart collection that took place at the Blackburn Public Library at an unknown date.

2. The miniatures in Blackburn are now bound in the following order:

Gospel Sequences: *Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, Saint Luke, Saint John*; Hours of the Virgin, Matins: *Annunciation*, Lauds: *Visitation*, Prime: *Nativity*, Terce: *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, Sext: *Adoration of the Magi*, None: *Presentation in the Temple*, Vespers: *Flight into Egypt*; Hours of the Holy Spirit: *Pentecost*; Suffrage to John the Baptist: *John the Baptist*; Office of the Dead(?): *Raising of Lazarus*; Gospel Sequences on the Passion, Matthew: *Betrayal*, Mark: *Crowning with Thorns*, Luke: *Christ Before Pilate*, John: *Road to Calvary*; Hours of the Cross: *Crucifixion*; Obsecro te: *Pietà*; Hours of the Virgin, Compline: *Coronation of the Virgin*; O intemerata, *Virgin and Child*; Suffrages: *Saint Anne, Saint Michael, Saint George, Saint Lawrence, Saint Nicholas, Saints Peter and Paul, Saint Jacob, Saint Sebastian, Saint Francis*.

3. Ker 1969–83, vol. 2, pp. 101–2.
4. Forrer 1902, p. 25, no. 35, ill. See also Avril in Paris 1993–94, pp. 371, 372, under nos. 209, 210.
5. Paris 1993–94, pp. 370–71, no. 209, color ill. (fol. 105).
6. Ex coll. Hamilton and Aldenham; sale, Sotheby's, London, 22 March 1937, lot 47.
7. Bibliothèque Municipale, Toulouse, 1883.
8. Paris 1993–94, pp. 371–72, no. 210, ill. (fol. 213v).
9. See Pächt and Thoss 1974, pp. 37–48, colorpl. 3, pls. 57–73, figs. 7–16; Unterkircher 1975; Mérimond 1987, p. 2.
10. On Trubert, see Reynaud 1977; Avril in Paris 1993–94, pp. 370–71, 373; and Reynaud in *ibid.*, pp. 377–84, nos. 215–17.
11. Châtelet 1982, pp. 7–14. On René II, see also Mérimond 1990.
12. See the examples Plummer cited in New York 1982–83, pp. 26, 55–58, nos. 36, 72–76, none of which dates later than 1475.
13. Alexander in Manchester 1976, p. 33, under no. 61. The arms on Michael's shield are often *Argent a Cross Gules*.
14. Paris 1981, pp. 55–56, no. 18, ill. (fol. 29); New York 1982–83, pp. 30–31, no. 42, ill. (fols. 29, 129v).

Southern Netherlands, Bruges(?)

ca. 1400–1410

**7. Saint Michael Presenting a Donor to Christ as
Salvator Mundi
Leaf from a Book of Hours(?)**

1975.I.2469

Recto(?): blank.

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 167.5 x 99 mm.
Inscribed on the book: “ego su[m] via: veritas et vita”;
on the banderole: “miserere mei deus secundum magnam
m[isericord]iam tua[m].”

Except for some small losses of paint from the gold-leaf rosettes decorating the frame and from the undergarment of the angel, the miniature is in an excellent state of preservation. It has been trimmed to its frame and mounted on a piece of parchment that was cut to the size of the miniature and in turn glued to a larger piece of paperboard. The glue has discolored the paperboard, but the condition of the pigment is stable. When the miniature is lit from behind no writing is visible on the back. Both to the naked eye and under magnification the architectural frame, the dragon, the ground at the dragon's feet, and possibly the wings of the angel appear to be unfinished. Under magnification no pigment can be seen in these areas; instead there seems to be a layer of gum or glair over pencil or silverpoint underdrawing.

PROVENANCE: [Les Frères Kalebdjian, Paris (no. 942)].
Acquired by Robert Lehman from Kalebdjian in 1924.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 176 (as northern Netherlands [Utrecht?], ca. 1430); Cincinnati 1959, no. 349, ill. (as French, end of the fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1707 (as from a Book of Hours written in France, ca. 1400); Cardon 1989, pp. 219–24; Pächt and Thoss 1990, pp. 110, 111, fig. 117; Cambridge 1993, p. 114, under no. 32 (as Flemish, ca. 1400); Louvain 1993, p. 7, under no. 2 (as Bruges, 1390–1400); M. Smeyers 1993, pp. 60, 61, 67 (as Bruges, shortly before 1400).

Little studied until recently, this leaf was listed in De Ricci's *Census* in 1937 as from a Book of Hours written in France about 1400. In 1957, when the leaf was exhibited in Paris, Béguin was uncertain whether it came from a Book of Hours, but she dated it to about 1430 and pointed out that the Christ figure seems to be a type characteristic of workshops in Utrecht, citing a miniature in a Missal in the Universitätsbibliothek in Münster (MS 41, fol. 94v).¹ There is nothing quite comparable to this *Saint Michael*, however, in either French or Dutch illumination.

In 1993 Maurits Smeyers definitively characterized the Lehman miniature as Flemish, including it in a group of manuscripts produced in Bruges in the pre-Eyckian phase

of book illumination, or the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.² Within that large group Smeyers distinguishes eight stylistically distinct but interrelated subgroups, suggesting a complex pattern of production in a city that had become an important hub of commerce and trade. That a great many of the manuscripts include saints particularly venerated in Bruges in their Calendars helps confirm their origin.³ Otherwise they vary in content. Some are written for the use of Rome, and some, obviously made for export, are of the use of Sarum (Salisbury) and have obituaries of English nobility and feasts of English saints in their Calendars. One has rubrics in Catalan. In some of the manuscripts the miniatures were painted on sets of inserted singletons; in others the illuminations are an inseparable part of the text. The miniatures are the work of several different hands, and a recurrence of themes and figural types indicates that the painters sometimes relied on workshop models.

Smeyers put the Lehman leaf in a subgroup he calls the Group with the Rose Baldachins,⁴ along with a Book of Hours in the Cambridge University Library (ii.6.2);⁵ one in the British Library, London (Sloane MS 2683);⁶ another in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Canon. Liturg. 251);⁷ and three others that were sold at Sotheby's in London in 1937, 1952, and 1987, respectively, and have since disappeared.⁸ I would now add to the group another Book of Hours that appeared at auction at Sotheby's in 1948.⁹ The miniatures in these books are all framed at the sides and bottom with bands enclosing white curvilinear designs on alternating blue and red grounds, with rosettes inscribed in gold squares at the corners and in gold circles at the sides. On all of them a turreted three-dimensional rose-colored baldachin punctuated with round and arched windows forms the top edge of the frame. The full-bodied figures set in high relief beneath the architectural canopies are often too large for the frames, but they are painted with a subtle sense of plasticity that conveys what Smeyers, echoing Lyna, called pre-Eyckian realism.¹⁰

Many of the miniatures in the Group with the Rose Baldachins have tile floors, but landscapes are consistently absent. Instead the miniatures have dark, often



No. 7



Fig. 7.1 *The Annunciation*. Book of Hours, fol. 33v. Cambridge University Library, ii.6.2. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library



Fig. 7.2 *The Trinity*. Book of Hours, fol. 10v. Cambridge University Library, ii.6.2. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library

black backgrounds decorated with highly ornamental motifs, in combinations of gold, red, and white, derived from textile patterns. The motifs in the backgrounds vary. Some are geometric designs; in two of the miniatures in the Sloane Hours (fols. 19v, 43v) the pattern is a crowned Gothic letter Y. Letters or text also decorate costumes, no doubt in imitation of real garments, in the miniatures on fols. 29v, 33v, 40v, and 68v of the Hours sold at Sotheby's in 1937; according to Smeyers these are some of the earliest book illuminations to incorporate decorative texts with legible words.¹¹

The gold and white on black design in the background of the Lehman leaf is repeated in the background of the *Annunciation* in the Cambridge Hours (fol. 33v; Fig. 7.1), in which the archangel Gabriel is also a close counterpart of the archangel in the Lehman miniature. The Lehman *Saint Michael* is particularly close to the miniatures in the Cambridge book, which like the Sloane manuscript and the one sold in 1987 was written for the use of Sarum and has English saints in its Calendar. Compare, for example, the treatment of Christ's head in

the Lehman miniature and the head of God the Father in the *Trinity* in the Cambridge Hours (fol. 10v; Fig. 7.2). The faces have the same high forehead and off-center part with an oddly placed tuft of hair; wide, heavy-lidded eyes and short, thick eyebrows; pink, fleshy cheeks; and trim forked beard. The peculiarly limp feet and idiosyncratic gestures of Christ and Saint Michael reappear in the *Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist* in the Cambridge book (fol. 18v; Fig. 7.3). The poses of the archangel and the beast are similar to those of the same figures in the *Saint Michael and the Dragon* in the Cambridge Hours (fol. 14v; Fig. 7.4), but reversed, and both dragons have deep-set eyes with bulging lids, protruding nodules on their heads, and odd, regularly spaced straight teeth that look rather like the prongs on a garden tool. In all the Cambridge miniatures, as in the Lehman *Saint Michael*, a certain homely awkwardness in the compositions and the characterization of the figures is offset by a considerable delicacy in the use of color and modeling, resulting in a kind of poignant charm.



Fig. 7.3 *Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist*. Book of Hours, fol. 18v. Cambridge University Library, 11.6.2. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library



Fig. 7.4 *Saint Michael and the Dragon*. Book of Hours, fol. 14v. Cambridge University Library, 11.6.2. By permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library

Though the style is slightly more painterly, the miniatures in the London manuscript, Sloane MS 2683 (see Fig. 7.5), are by the same team of artists that illuminated the Cambridge manuscript and the Lehman miniature. The Books of Hours that were sold at Sotheby's in 1937, 1948, 1952, and 1987 are attributable to these same artisans. That the texts and the subjects of the miniatures vary so little in these six books and that their dimensions are nearly identical also suggest that they may have been turned out en masse by a workshop team for both local and foreign clients.

The miniatures in the Cambridge and London books enable us to reconstruct the border decoration on the Lehman leaf. Triangular leaves like the three that remain at the tops of the turrets and delicate pen-drawn tendrils and sprays of foliage like those on the borders of the Cambridge and London miniatures were probably cut away. The architecture at the top of the frame was probably more fully modeled; in the Cambridge and London examples the broad arch of the frame is

painstakingly worked over with alternating white and pink pigment, which gives the illusion of light and shade. And careful examination of the Lehman leaf reveals underdrawings not only for a plain rectilinear frame under the more elaborate one but also for round and arched windows identical to those that enhance the three-dimensionality of the architecture in the Cambridge and London miniatures.

More ornate and three-dimensional versions of the simple arches in the Group with the Rose Baldachins, sometimes surmounting double vaults like those on the Lehman miniature, frame the miniatures in a related Book of Hours in the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras (MS 57), that is for the use of Rome and has a Calendar that points to Liège.¹² With their more realistic baldachins and more fully developed figures, miniatures like the *Saint Catherine* (fol. 55v; Fig. 7.6) and the *Crucifixion* (fol. 60v; Fig. 7.7) in the Carpentras Hours seem to represent a more evolved state of decoration and style than those in the Cambridge and London books.



Fig. 7.5 *Saint Michael and the Dragon*. Book of Hours, fol. 17v. British Library, London, Sloane MS 2683. By permission of the British Library

The Carpentras manuscript was most likely produced between about 1400 and 1410, at the same time or even just after the Lehman leaf, which itself probably slightly postdates the Cambridge and London examples. A date in the first decade of the fifteenth century is confirmed by the costume of the donor in the Lehman miniature (and, with minor variations, the donor in the Carpentras book; see Fig. 7.8), a girded houppelande with wide sleeves that resembles the costume in the effigy incised on the grave at Saron-sur-Aube, Marne, of a merchant named Félizot le Mire, who died in 1411.¹³

Nonetheless, the palette, the decorative backgrounds and tiled interiors, and the figures in the Lehman miniature and those related to it hark back to northern Netherlandish illumination of the late fourteenth century, to the earliest examples of the style that flourished under the patronage of the court of Albrecht of Bavaria (1358–1404, count of Holland from 1389) and his successors. Indeed, the similarities are so striking that it seems reasonable to surmise that a Dutch artist, or group of

artists, worked among the illuminators in Bruges, profoundly influencing their art.¹⁴ The Dutch style merged with earlier, more delicate indigenous Bruges painting, as typified by a Breviary dated 1373 that was made for Saint Peter's Abbey in Ghent (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ghent, MS 3381),¹⁵ to create a distinctive new idiom. Compare, for example, the figures in the Lehman painting to the figure of Christ Salvator or God the Father in the *Creation of Water* (Fig. 7.9) in the copy of Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* in the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam (KA XVIII, fol. 13; on deposit in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague),¹⁶ and in the *Nuttelijc Boec den Kerstenen Menschen* (Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Thott 70, fol. 2).¹⁷ These manuscripts, which have been dated to the 1390s (the *Rijmbijbel* possibly to the early part of the decade and the *Nuttelijc Boec* possibly to 1396), established the stylistic tradition carried on by the Masters of Dirc van Delf and the Masters of Margaret of Cleves, still unidentified painters or groups of painters who probably worked in Utrecht, or possibly The Hague, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.¹⁸

The question of the identity of the book from which the Lehman leaf derives is not easily resolved. The miniature's dimensions exceed those of the miniatures in the Books of Hours in the so-called Cambridge Group by 25 to 50 percent (the miniatures in the Cambridge Hours, for instance, measure 105 x 78 mm), and it deviates from the standard iconography (the donor would more typically appear before the Virgin and Child, as in the Carpentras Hours; see Fig. 7.8). The unusual iconography may, however, provide a clue. Saint Michael, with the dragon at his feet, appears to be presenting the figure in the center, most probably the donor of the book (whose name may have been Michael), to Christ, who stands on a terrestrial globe holding the standard of the Redeemer and a book open to the words "ego sum via, veritas et vita" (John 14:6: I am the way, and the truth, and the life). Behind the donor is a banderole on which is written: "miserere mei deus secundum magnam m[isericord]iam tua[m]" (Psalm 50:3: Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy). Pächt and Thoss have suggested that this is one of the earliest representations of Christ as *Salvator Mundi* in this particular pose: a full-length standing figure with his right hand raised in blessing, his left hand holding an open book, and a globe at his feet. In their discussion of the *Standing Christ as Salvator Mundi in an Initial C* in a copy of Johannes Gielemans's *Sanctilogium* from Rooklooster, near Brussels, that is dated to the 1470s



Figs. 7.6, 7.7, and 7.8 *Saint Catherine* (above), *The Crucifixion* (above right), and *Donors Before the Virgin and Child* (below). Book of Hours, fols. 55v, 60v, and 69v. Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Archives et Musée de Carpentras, MS 57

(Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. s. n. 12811-14, vol. 1, fol. 22), they give two other, later examples: a miniature by Willem Vrelant from a *Miroir d'humilité* in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Valenciennes (MS 240, fol. 158), in which Christ's right foot rests on the globe in the same way the left foot of the Lehman figure does, so that only the toes are visible, and a frontispiece from a *Vita Christi* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (James MS 25, fol. 3v). The figures were probably modeled on a prototype by Jan van Eyck that first appeared in the Turin-Milan Hours (Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin, K.IV.29 [destroyed 1904], fol. 44v) and is also exemplified by a diptych of 1499 that belonged to Chrétien de Hondt, abbot of Ter Duinen (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp).¹⁹

The depiction of Christ as *Salvator Mundi* seems also to have been popular around the turn of the fifteenth century in the northern Netherlands. Such figures appear, for example, in the *Rijmbijbel* from Amsterdam;²⁰ in a Vulgate in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS 289, vol. 3, fol. 243);²¹ and in a Book of Hours that was on the London art market in 1971 (fol. 79v).²² Later,



about 1430, the iconography was used in the southern Netherlands, primarily to introduce the Fifteen O's, a series of prayers to Christ, in the opening pages of Books of Hours made for export to England.²³ None of these miniatures, however, include a donor and Saint Michael, which transforms the scene into a sort of Last Judgment, or memorial image. A parallel exists in *The Memorial of Raes van Haemstede* (Fig. 7.10), a Dutch panel dated 1426 (Centraal Museum, Utrecht), which depicts the patron saints of Raes van Haemstede presenting him to Christ as the Redeemer.²⁴ In the absence of any accompanying text, we can surmise that the Lehman leaf served a similar memorial function. It could have been one of the first instances of an image of Christ as Redeemer introducing the Fifteen O's, perhaps in a grand Book of Hours.

NOTES:

1. Byvanck 1937, pp. 148-49, pl. 40.
2. Louvain 1993, pp. 1-137, nos. 1-43. See also Rogers 1982, especially chap. 3; M. Smeyers 1993; and K. Smeyers and Vertongen 1993.
3. For example, the Calendar of a Book of Hours in the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Carpentras (MS 57; Louvain 1993, pp. 97-99, no. 32, fig. 36), includes four saints venerated in Ghent and Bruges: Eloy, Amandus, Bathildus, and Walricus; and a Book of Hours in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Canon. Liturg. 251; Pächt and Alexander 1966-73, vol. 1, p. 48, no. 617, pl. 47 [incorrectly localized in the south of France]; Louvain 1993, pp. 10-12, no. 4, fig. 4 [fols. 92v-93]), has Basilus and Donatian in its Calendar. Another Book of Hours in the Bodleian (Canon. Liturg. 125 [use of Rome]; Pächt and Alexander 1966-73, vol. 3, p. 114, no. 1311, pl. 119) that might be added to the group has Saints Remigius, Bavo, and Eligius in its Calendar. Pächt and Alexander considered Bodleian Canon. Liturg. 125 as by the same hand as Cambridge ii.6.2 and Sloane 2683 (see notes 5 and 6 below).
4. Louvain 1993, pp. 4-12; M. Smeyers 1993 (where he calls this subgroup the Cambridge Group).
5. Cambridge 1993, pp. 114-15, no. 32, colorpl. p. 103 (fols. 49v, 104v); Louvain 1993, pp. 4-7, no. 2, fig. 2 [fol. 12v]; M. Smeyers 1993, pls. 22a, 25b (fols. 14v, 53v).
6. Louvain 1993, pp. 7-10, no. 3, fig. 3 (fols. 71v-72); M. Smeyers 1993, pls. 22b, 24a, 25a, 26a (fols. 17v, 19v, 45v, 71v-72).
7. See note 3 above.
8. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 5 March 1937, lot 834, ill. (also sold at J. J. Leighton, London, in 1912, lot 151, ill., and illustrated in M. Smeyers 1993, pls. 24b, 27 [fols. 29v, 87v]); 10 November 1952, lot 76; and 1 December 1987, lot 52, ill. (use of Rome; Calendar with Saints Bavo and Donatian, patrons of Ghent and Bruges).
9. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 28 June 1948, lot 218.
10. Lyna 1946-47; M. Smeyers 1993, p. 59.



Fig. 7.9 *The Creation of Water*. Jacob van Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel*, fol. 13. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA XVIII



Fig. 7.10 *The Memorial of Raes van Haemstede*. Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 2482

11. M. Smeyers 1993, p. 63.
12. See note 3 above.
13. Greenhill 1976, p. 211, pl. 118a.
14. On relations between the southern and northern Netherlands in the fifteenth century, see M. Smeyers and Cardon 1991.
15. Ghent 1975, pp. 352–53, no. 579, pls. 83, 84.
16. Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–26, vol. 1, p. 3, no. 5, vol. [3], pls. 102, 103; Byvanck 1937, pp. 22, 118, pl. 8 (fig. 20); Renger 1991, figs. 1, 6, 8, 13 (fols. 12–14, 112).
17. Warnar 1989; Renger 1991, figs. 9, 10, 16 (fols. 2, 100). On the dating of these manuscripts, see also Hindman 1987a.
18. On these artists, see New York 1990, pp. 9–13, 25–41, and Backhouse, Marrow, and Schmidt 1994.
19. Pächt and Thoss 1990, pp. 109–12, pls. 211–14, figs. 117–21. See also Bibliothèques Publiques de France 1885–1965, vol. 25, pp. 295–96 (the Valenciennes *Miroir d'humilité*); James 1895, pp. 60–65 (the Fitzwilliam *Vita Christi*); and Durrieu (1902) 1967; Durrieu 1910; and Van Buren, Marrow, and Pettenati 1996, pp. 557, 668 (the Turin-Milan Hours).
20. Renger 1991, fig. 1.
21. Wormald and Giles 1982, pp. 258–65.
22. Sale, Sotheby's, 6 December 1971, lot 29, ill. (fols. 13v, 79v). Lot 29 is described as "Hours of the Virgin [use of Utrecht] in Dutch, preceded by a Calendar and followed by the Hours of the Cross, Wisdom, and the Holy Ghost, memorials for saints, the Penitential Psalms and Litany and the Office of the Dead."
23. Rogers (1984, pp. 29–30) has gathered the following examples: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 52 (in the miniature on fol. 3 Christ's book is also inscribed "ego sum via, veritas et vita"); Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague, MS 10 F 11 (in the miniature on fol. 15 there is an orb at Christ's feet); National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool, Mayer MS 12009 (Liverpool–London 1993, p. 18, no. 18, ill.); and Swaffham, Norfolk, *Saints Peter and Paul*, MS 1. According to Rogers, the earliest example of the devotion appears in a Missal illuminated by Hermann Scheerre (British Library, Add. MS 16998).
24. Hoogewerff 1936–47, vol. 2, pp. 23–25, pls. 8, 9.

Simon Marmion

Amiens ca. late 1420s–Valenciennes 1489

Simon Marmion was one of the most esteemed miniaturists of his generation. In the epitaph he wrote for Marmion, the poet and chronicler Jean Molinet praised his skill at representing a wide range of subject matter drawn from life.¹ In 1503 the poet Jean Lemaire de Belges declared him the "prince d'enluminure" and ranked him alongside other great talents of modern painting such as Jean Fouquet, Rogier van der Weyden, and Jan van Eyck.²

Marmion was born into a well-documented family of artists in Amiens.³ His father, brother, and nephew were also painters, and his daughter Marie Marmion was according to Lemaire de Belges an illuminator of some renown. The records show that Marmion was paid mostly for decorative work in Amiens until 1454, when he painted an altarpiece, *Calvary*, for the Hall of Justice in the town hall.⁴ That same year he was among the thirty-four artists Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, invited to Lille to create the decorations for the sumptuous Feast of the Pheasant he staged to launch his new

military campaign.⁵ When Marmion's name next appears in the documents, in 1458, he had bought property in Valenciennes, where he was to live and work as both a panel painter and an illuminator until his death in 1489.⁶ Also from documents we know that Marmion executed a commission for the cathedral of Cambrai⁷ and that in 1468 he became master in the guild of Tournai, where his brother Mille worked as a painter for some years.⁸ Just before Philip the Good died in 1467 he commissioned Marmion to illuminate a lavish Breviary (long considered lost) that was completed in 1470 for Philip's son and successor, Charles the Bold.⁹

Although so far not a single work by Marmion has been linked to a document, a substantial number of paintings and miniatures have been attributed to him based on their circumstantial correspondence with the facts of his biography. He is credited with painting the wings of the altarpiece that was commissioned for the abbey of Saint Bertin at Saint-Omer by its abbot Guillaume Fillastre, a courtier of Philip the Good, and probably executed be-

tween 1455 and 1459.¹⁰ With the altarpiece as a point of comparison, other paintings such as the *Crucifixion* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art¹¹ and the *Lamentation* in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum¹² have been ascribed to him, along with illuminations on single leaves¹³ and in a number of manuscripts: Books of Hours, chronicles (most notably *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* in Saint Petersburg),¹⁴ and religious or literary works.

The Marmion oeuvre established by Winkler early in this century and refined by others over the years¹⁵ was contested between 1969 and 1987 by several scholars struck by the apparent discontinuity in the work.¹⁶ That so much of the work produced after about 1480 resembles Ghent-Bruges illumination led De Schryver, for example, to attribute it to a second artist, whom he called the Louthe Master.¹⁷ Recent scholarship, however, has tended to affirm Pächt's and Sterling's view that the entire body of work belongs to Marmion.¹⁸ My suggestion in 1992 that the leaf with *The Holy Virgins Greeted by Christ* in the Robert Lehman Collection and its sister leaf in a private collection are from the Breviary ordered by Philip the Good in 1467 provides for the first time a link between the documents and the works. Since then Reynaud has further refined the Marmion corpus by studying little-known works and by isolating the contributions of some of Marmion's early collaborators, among them the Master of Théroutanne and the Second Master of the *Grandes Chroniques*.¹⁹

Simon Marmion

Valenciennes, ca. 1467–70

8. The Holy Virgins Greeted by Christ As They Enter the Gates of Paradise Leaf from the Breviary of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York

1975.I.2477

Recto: End of the Common of Confessors, with a full illuminated border of silver gray and gold acanthus and gray and gold floral designs.

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 158 x 116 mm, painted area 151 x 110 mm. Inscribed under the angel in the bas-de-page scene: *Venite omnes virgines*. On the recto is the end of the text of the Common of Confessors, "bitux. R. Justum deduxit d[omi]n[u]s. Per vias . . . qui edificavit domu[m] sua[m] sup[er] petram," written in brown ink in a rounded *textualis gotica formata* book hand on approximately 26–28

NOTES:

1. Quoted in Dehaisnes 1892, pp. 72–74.
2. Quoted in Stecher 1882–91, vol. 4, p. 162, and Dehaisnes 1892, p. 52.
3. The documents are published in Hénault 1907.
4. Dehaisnes 1892, pp. 61–64, 83–84; Hénault 1907, vol. 9, pp. 410–12.
5. Hénault 1907, vol. 9, pp. 135, 412.
6. Ibid., pp. 125–29, 413–24.
7. Ibid., p. 415, no. 23; Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, p. 80.
8. Hénault 1907, vol. 9, pp. 122–23, 128; Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, p. 80.
9. Hénault 1907, vol. 9, pp. 416, 419, nos. 27, 35.
10. National Gallery, London, and Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; Dehaisnes 1892; Klemm 1914; Hoffman 1978; Kren and Wieck 1990, p. 21; Grosshans 1991; Grosshans 1992. On the London panels, see also Davies 1968, pp. 85–87, nos. 1302, 1303, and Davies 1970.
11. Sweeney 1972, p. 52; Sterling 1981, p. 13, n. 33. Ainsworth (in Ainsworth and Faries 1992, pp. 251–53, fig. 251) attributes the painting to a follower of Simon Marmion.
12. Ainsworth and Faries 1992, pp. 246–48, ill.
13. See Kren 1996.
14. National Library of Russia, Erm. 88; Paris 1993–94, pp. 82–87, no. 36, ill.
15. Winkler 1913; Friedländer 1923; Winkler (1925) 1978, especially pp. 39–40; Hulin de Loo 1942; Hoffman 1958; Brussels 1959; Hoffman 1969.
16. Hoffman 1973; Hindman 1977; Dogaer 1987.
17. De Schryver in Ghent 1975, pp. 331–32, 364–66, 375–76, nos. 596, 597, 612. De Schryver (1992) has since changed his mind.
18. See Pächt 1978, Pächt 1979, and Sterling 1981.
19. Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, pp. 71–97.

lines (only 13 lines are written), no visible ruling, justification 108 x 71 mm, rubrics in red, some underlining, with a one-line silver gray initial on a gold ground and a two-line silver gray acanthus initial on a gold ground. Written in pencil on the recto at the lower left: 1 (circled); at the lower right: 07041 (an A. S. Drey lot number) / oky / VROYY.

The page has been trimmed considerably. There are some losses in the miniature on the verso, particularly in the angels above the doorway, but otherwise it is well preserved. The fragile parchment is highly transparent and in delicate condition, and the design of the miniature bleeds through to the



No. 8, verso

recto. The recto was once affixed with an animal glue to a backing, which was removed sometime before the miniature was sold in 1930. On the recto there are considerable adhesive residues, as well as many losses in the border, some fractures (especially in the lower border), and some old repairs.

PROVENANCE: [A. S. Drey, Munich (no. 07041)]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from A. S. Drey on 1 February 1930.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 162, pl. 77 (as *Holy Virgins Being Received into Paradise* [with Saint Clare?], Flemish, ca. 1480–85); Cincinnati 1959, no. 340, ill. (as *Holy Virgins Entering Paradise*, Flemish, ca. 1490); New York 1968–69,

no. 10 (as *Holy Virgins Being Received in Paradise* [with Saint Bridget of Sweden], southern Netherlands, perhaps Brussels, ca. 1490); Lawrence, Kans., 1969, no. 24, pl. 58 (as *Blessed Virgins Entering Paradise*, Bruges, ca. 1490).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1716 (as *Three Episodes in a Female Saint's Life*, Flemish, ca. 1490); Hoffman 1958, p. 177 (as Simon Marmion); Clark 1992, p. 207, n. 21 (as probably a late work by Simon Marmion); Hindman 1992, ill. (as *Holy Virgins Entering Paradise*, Simon Marmion, ca. 1467–70); Avril 1993, p. 161; Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, p. 80; Paris–Cambridge, Mass.–New York 1994–95, pp. 2–3, under no. 1; Kren 1996, pp. 219–20, n. 24.



No. 8, recto

In her dissertation of 1958 Hoffman ascribed this leaf to the painter-illuminator Simon Marmion and recognized that it came from the same book (which she thought must have been a Book of Hours) as a leaf depicting scenes from the life of Saint Denis that was then also in Robert Lehman's collection (Fig. 8.1).² Neither suggestion found any following in the literature on Marmion, however.

The few scholars who had noticed these leaves before I published them in 1992 had all assumed that they came from a Book of Hours. The text on the back of this

miniature, however, is the end of the Common of Confessors, part of the Common of Saints, or Commune Sanctorum, which follows the Temporale and the Sanctorale in Breviaries for the use of Paris.³ The miniature depicting the Holy Virgins was thus on the verso of the page, facing the opening lines of the text for the Common of Virgins, which follows the Common of Confessors in the Commune Sanctorum. The orientation of the leaf is confirmed by the wider right-hand border on the text side, or recto.

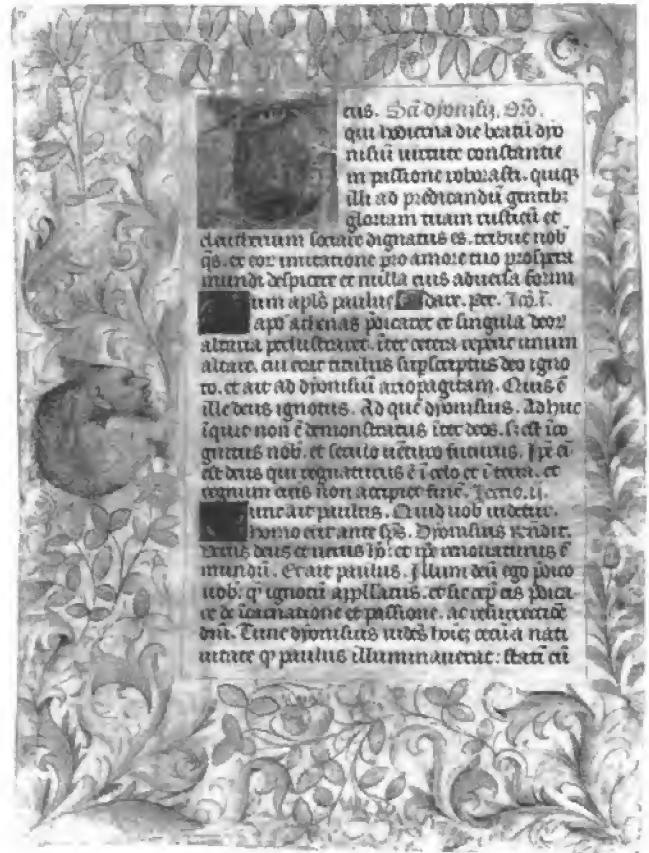


Fig. 8.1 Simon Marmion, *Scenes from the Life of Saint Denis* (leaf from a Breviary, recto and verso). Private collection

Because the text was never correctly identified and because of the rarity of the subject,⁴ until now no one had realized that each of the three scenes in the miniature is an appropriate illustration of the text of the Common of Virgins. The inspiration for the scene in the center, where ten virgins carrying lamps and accompanied by angels approach Christ, who stands in the doorway of a Flamboyant Gothic building that represents the Gates of Paradise, was the respond in the first nocturn at Matins, which reads: “Come, Bride of Christ, and take the everlasting crown, which the Lord hath prepared for thee, even for thee who for the love of Him hast shed thy blood, and art entered with angels into His garden.” The same passage explains the scene at the left, which shows the virgins with Christ in an enclosed garden. Lesson Seven in the third nocturn at Matins is the parable of the ten virgins as told in Matthew 25:1–13: “Then shall the kingdom of heaven be like to ten virgins, who taking their lamps went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride.” The respond is the source of the words written in the sky below the angel who hovers above the young women seated in a circle on the grass

in the scene at the bottom of the page: *Venite omnes virgines* (Come, all you virgins).

This page comes from a book that must have been remarkable. Other late fifteenth-century Breviaries, even lavishly illustrated ones like those of Queen Isabella of Castile (British Library, London, Add. MS 18851)⁵ and Queen Eleanor of Portugal (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.52),⁶ have no full-page miniatures in the Common of Saints, and very few of them have any such miniatures at all. The Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal does have twenty-five full-page miniatures and thirty-one smaller ones, but the sumptuous Breviary of Isabella of Castile has no full-page miniatures and is instead decorated with forty-five half-page and more than one hundred smaller illuminations (none of them in the Common of Saints). If the Common of Saints received a full-page miniature, it is reasonable to assume that there were many others.

The existence of another full-page miniature from the same Breviary confirms this hypothesis. The other miniature (Fig. 8.1) would have illustrated the text for the Feast of Saints Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius



Fig. 8.2 Simon Marmion, *Chorus of Angels* (left) and *Ascension of Saint Bertin's Soul* (right). Panels from the Saint Bertin Altarpiece. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery, London, 1302, 1303

(9 October) in the Sanctoale. The scene at the top right depicts Denis in Rome with Saint Paul, restoring the sight of a blind man. The other scenes in the border show him being baptized; in his bishop's miter kneeling before Pope Clement I, who according to the incongruous legend sent him and Eleutherius and Rusticus, here standing to his left in deacons' garb, to Gaul as missionaries; and he and his two companions taking Communion after they had been imprisoned by order of the Roman prefect in Paris. In the center scene the three saints have been beheaded, and Denis's corpse has miraculously risen to its feet holding its severed head.⁷

Calculated on the basis of the Breviary of Isabella of Castile, which has somewhat larger pages, the Breviary from which these two leaves were removed would have had more than six hundred folios.⁸ Judging how many miniatures it might have had is more difficult, but like the Breviary of Isabella of Castile, it could have had more than a hundred, and the secondary decoration must have been unusually lavish. A full border like that on the recto of the Lehman leaf normally occurs at the opening of a section of text facing a full-page miniature. As the text on the Lehman leaf includes only the last portion of the Common of Confessors, it must have

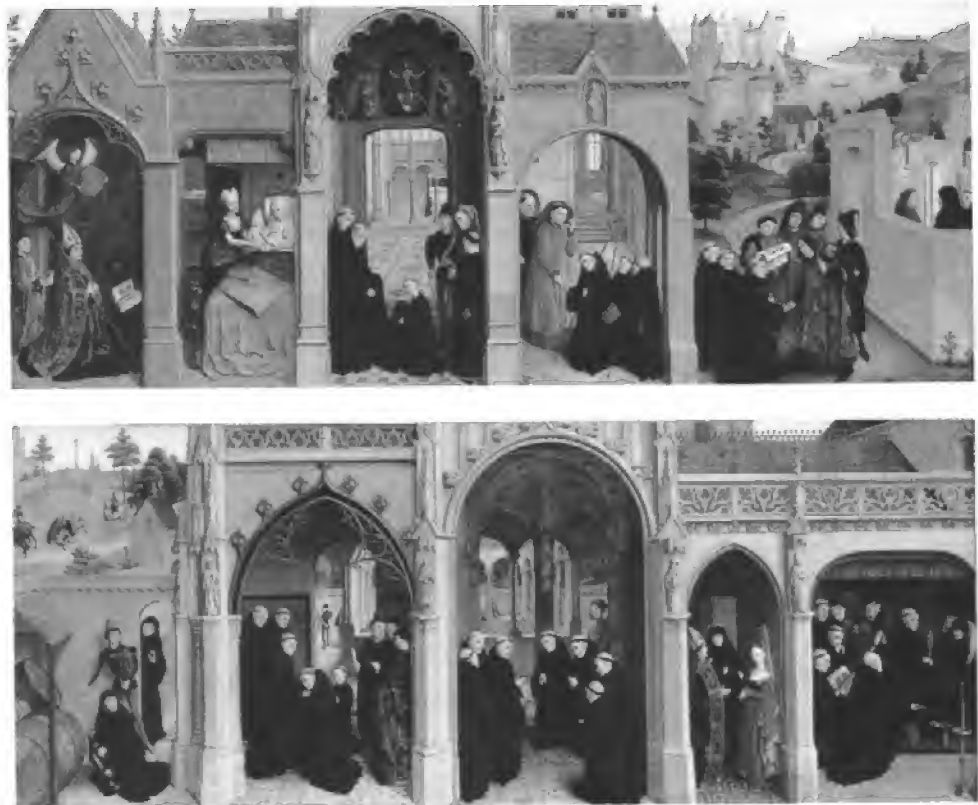


Fig. 8.3 Simon Marmion, *Scenes from the Life of Saint Bertin*. Panels from the Saint Bertin Altarpiece. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1645. Photographs: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin

faced a text page that presumably was similarly decorated. If a section of the text of the Common of Saints had such elaborate borders, then the entire text of the Breviary must have been illuminated. Such a system, entailing the illumination of every page of a sizable volume, was not unprecedented, but it was usually reserved for the most opulent commissions ordered by patrons of the highest social rank.

That this must indeed have been an expensive book is evinced by the generous use of gold leaf, for a double gold frame like the one that sets off the border decoration both from the margins and from the written space on the Lehman leaf must have been used on every text page. The extremely fine, transparent parchment is also exceptional. Not only does it confirm in a general way the luxuriousness of the commission, but it also indicates that careful attention was paid to the nature of the

commission, as the thin material was well suited to a thick volume.

If one bears in mind that both leaves have suffered some losses in the painted areas (perhaps caused by water staining or dampness) and that the medium is different, one can see that the *Holy Virgins* and the *Saint Denis* have much in common with other works attributed to Simon Marmion. The trumpeting angels who appear at the windows and above the doorway in the *Holy Virgins* are direct quotations from the Altarpiece of Saint Bertin (Figs. 8.2, 8.3).⁹ The altarpiece (National Gallery, London, and Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) was commissioned by Guillaume Fillastre, abbot of the abbey of Saint Bertin at Saint-Omer and courtier of Philip the Good, and was probably executed between 1455 and 1459, which would have been fairly early in Marmion's career, just after he moved to Valenciennes from his hometown of Amiens. The Flamboyant Gothic structure in the *Holy Virgins* finds an analogy in the Gothic building in which the various episodes from the life of Saint Bertin take place. The doorway in which Christ stands in the miniature, for example, should be compared to the opening in which the donor appears at the far left of one of the Berlin panels of the altarpiece (Fig. 8.3), and the steeply slanted roof in the miniature, with its ornamented dormer windows, is nearly identical to the roof in one of the London panels (Fig. 8.2). Marmion has been credited with developing elaborate architectural settings to organize the discontinuous spaces of compositions that contain multiple scenes, a characteristic also of miniatures by the Master of Mansel, who may have been his teacher. The Lehman leaf, with its sophisticated use of architecture not only to provide a setting for the figures but also to exploit the illusionism of the page, represents a further evolution of the compositional scheme developed in the Saint Bertin Altarpiece and in manuscripts such as the *Fleur des histoires* in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels (MSS 9231, 9232), which has been jointly attributed to Simon Marmion and the Master of Mansel and dated to about 1455.¹⁰

The tonsured prelates, the bishop, and the abbot in the lower margin of the *Saint Denis* (Fig. 8.1) all have counterparts in the Berlin panels of the Altarpiece of Saint Bertin (Fig. 8.3). These and other figures in the miniature also resemble those in the Pontifical of David of Burgundy (1425–1496), a bastard son of Philip the Good who became bishop first of Thérouanne and then of Utrecht,¹¹ although the figures in the Pontifical (see Fig. 8.4) are somewhat squatter than those in the altarpiece. The Pontifical (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, MS 77)



Fig. 8.4 Master of Thérouanne, *The Bishop Addressing His Congregation*. Pontifical of David of Burgundy, fol. 1v. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, MS 77



Figs. 8.5 and 8.6 Simon Marmion, *The Glory of the Martyrs and the Pure* (left) and *King Conchober and King Donatus* (right). Marcus, *The Visions of Tondal*, fols. 38v and 35 (details). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 87.MN.141

has in the past been attributed to Marmion; Reynaud has recently ascribed it to the Master of Théroutanne, a disciple and perhaps an associate of Marmion, and dated it to 1455–56, or about the time David was made bishop of Utrecht.¹²

Our two miniatures were probably painted later than the Saint Bertin Altarpiece and the illuminations in the Pontifical and the *Fleur des histoires*, however. Along with the more complex architecture, the reduced palette suggests a later date; the colors, predominantly whites set off by lime greens, pale blues, and salmon pinks, give the miniatures an overall muted tonality that is nonetheless surprisingly atmospheric. The artist's greater sophistication also shows in the adept interweaving of narrative scenes, culminating in the large framed miniature in the center. These are all qualities that Kren has recently associated with Marmion's style in the last two decades of his career,¹³ when he illuminated *Les Visions du chevalier Tondal* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 87.MN.141).¹⁴

The Getty copy of *The Visions of Tondal* was written in Ghent for Charles the Bold of Burgundy's third wife, Margaret of York, in 1474, according to the colophon of the scribe, David Aubert. Among its twenty miniatures, all of which are attributable to Marmion, are several with a palette, figures, and architecture that can be compared to those of the Lehman *Holy Virgins*, including *The Bad But Not Very Bad*, *The Good But Not Very Good*, *The Joy of the Faithfully Married*

(fols. 33v, 34v, 37), and *The Glory of the Martyrs and the Pure* (fol. 38v; Fig. 8.5). The figural types in the *Saint Denis* are similar to those in the *King Conchober and King Donatus* in the Getty manuscript (fol. 35; Fig. 8.6). Although the illusionistic borders of the Breviary leaves might at first thought suggest a date later in the 1470s, the scale of the figures and a certain lingering awkwardness in their grouping, as well as the absence of fully developed atmospheric backgrounds, place them closer to the date of *The Visions of Tondal*, anticipating the great experiments in illusionism of the end of the decade such as the Hours of Mary of Burgundy (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 1857).¹⁵

Some of the miniatures in another manuscript ascribed to Marmion, the so-called Salting Hours in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (L.2384.1910 KRP.A.28),¹⁶ display the same pale tonality as the Lehman leaf, resulting from the use of white pigment for the figures and gray, blue, and green for the backgrounds. The figures of God the Father and Christ in the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 8.8) and the *Raising of Lazarus* (Fig. 8.9) in the Salting Hours (fols. 118v, 153v) can be compared with the figure of Christ standing at the Gates of Paradise in the Lehman leaf; the Virgin in the *Coronation* resembles the virgins in the Lehman leaf; and the onlookers in the *Raising of Lazarus* are similar to those in the *Saint Denis*. Certain stylistic peculiarities in the *Holy Virgins* that I have not noticed elsewhere in the work attributed to Marmion occur as well in the Salting



Figs. 8.7, 8.8, and 8.9 Prayer to the Holy Face (above left), and Simon Marmion, *Coronation of the Virgin* (above) and *The Raising of Lazarus* (below left). Salting Hours, fols. 13, 118v, and 153v. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, L.2384.1910 KRP.A.28. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert



Raising of Lazarus (the small black dots used to model the backgrounds) and *Coronation* (the red streaky lines used to model the cheeks of the female figures).

The silver gray and gold acanthus leaves and the pear-shaped ornaments, trilobed flowers, and other unusual motifs that decorate the recto of the Lehman leaf are also found on many leaves in the Salting Hours, often on colored backgrounds. When the Lehman leaf is examined under a microscope traces of blue pigment similar to that in the backgrounds of the borders in the Salting Hours can be seen among the acanthus leaves.¹⁷ There can be little doubt that the same artist or team of artists (miniaturist and border decorator) was responsible for the illumination of the two Breviary leaves and the Salting Hours.

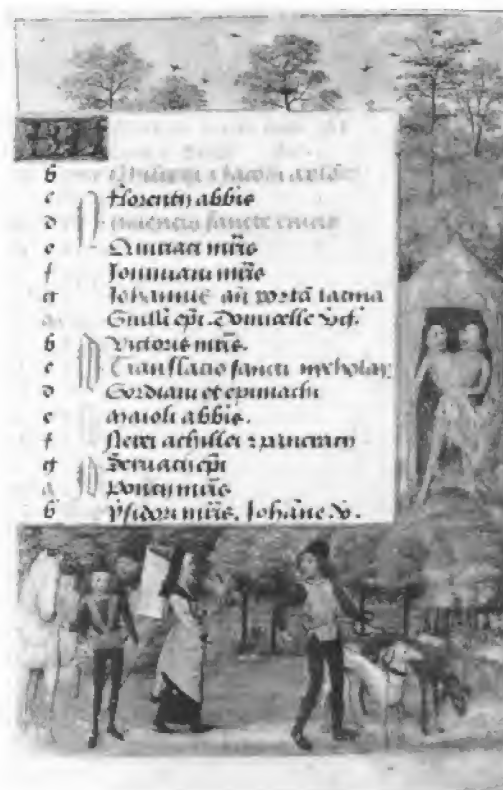
Like most of the works attributed to the middle and late periods of Marmion's career, the Salting Hours cannot be dated with precision on the basis of either internal or external evidence. The patron is unknown, and a shield held by angels on folio 13 (Fig. 8.7) was left unpainted. That both silver gray and gold acanthus and

other, older types of border patterns like colored acanthus were used in the book suggests that it should be regarded as a bridge between the earlier works attributed to Marmion, such as the *Fleur des histoires*, which dates to the 1450s, and later works, of the 1470s and 1480s, in which fully illusionistic borders occur, such as the Huth Hours (British Library, London, Add. MS 38126)¹⁸ and a Book of Hours in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M.6).¹⁹ It seems probable, therefore, that the Salting Hours dates to the late 1460s or early 1470s.

During that same period Marmion produced a group of grisaille illuminations, in a Book of Hours in the Museo Civico, Turin (MS 558);²⁰ the Hours of Jean Rolin II (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Res. 149);²¹ and two sets of cuttings, one in the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Paris (M.2236a-f),²² the other in the Detroit Institute of Arts (1993.50).²³ This group of works – the grisaille miniatures, the Salting Hours, perhaps the Berlaymont Hours in the Huntington Library in San Marino (HM. 1173),²⁴ and now the two Breviary leaves – help clarify the shift that took place in Marmion's style from the 1450s to the 1470s and 1480s.²⁵

At the midpoint of his career Marmion illuminated a Breviary, long considered lost, for the duke of Burgundy that has tantalized scholars seeking a firm basis for attributing works to him.²⁶ Marmion began work on the Breviary for Philip the Good in 1467, when he was advanced 100 livres.²⁷ He finished it in 1470 for Charles the Bold, Philip's son and successor. The record of the final payment to Marmion in 1470 describes the Breviary in unusually complete detail.²⁸ From the document we know that the manuscript had 624 folios, or 78 quires of 8 folios each, each quire "vignettes et furniz de histories." It began with a Calendar illuminated with both border decoration and miniatures (perhaps roundels with the signs of the zodiac and the Labors of the Months). It was illustrated as well with 95 miniatures, 11 "in colors" and 84 "in other colors," the miniatures introduced by (the document says 105) five-, six-, and eight-line initials. Within the text there were 2,500 two-line and 5,859 one-line initials.

The Lehman *Holy Virgins* and the *Saint Denis* might provide the first concrete link between the documents by which we know the details of Simon Marmion's life and the works that have been ascribed to him on largely circumstantial evidence. As we have proposed, the two leaves were removed from a Breviary of similar length and with similarly lavish illumination, made for a similarly illustrious patron at about the same date as the one described in the document. If "in colors"



Figs. 8.10 and 8.11 Simon Marmion, *May* (above) and *August* (below). Calendar pages. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, 40055, 40058



meant miniatures painted with full pigment (for which the rate was 90 sols each), "in other colors" might have been used to describe the pale tonality of miniatures like these two (for which the painter was paid 60 sols). The documents say nothing about the text of the lost ducal Breviary, but we might assume that, like the only Breviary owned by Philip the Good that has survived (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS 9026),²⁹ it was written for the use of Paris.

The subject of the *Holy Virgins* miniature, highly unusual for a Breviary, and the fact that it obviously depicts the abbess of a religious order (who has been variously identified as Saint Clare, Saint Bridget, and an unnamed female saint) might also argue, albeit tentatively, for these leaves' having come from the ducal Breviary. We know that Margaret of York's intense piety found expression in her support of the reformist movement and her interest in local religious foundations, including the Poor Clares, the Carthusians, the Black Sisters of the Augustinian order, and the Franciscans.³⁰ The texts of the manuscripts she commissioned or received as gifts reflected that interest. Sometime between 1468 and 1477, for example, she commissioned a beautifully illuminated copy of Pierre de Vaux's *Vie de Sainte Colette* that she presented to the convent of the Poor Clares at Ghent (MS 8), the first convent Colette founded and the place where she died in 1447.³¹ In the *Benoit seront les miséricordieux* (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, MS 9296) that her almoner Nicolas Finet compiled for the duchess for her own library at about the same time, one of the two miniatures depicts Margaret performing the Seven Acts of Mercy.³²

Even more similar in style to the Breviary leaves than the miniatures in the Salting Hours are the illustrations on a set of Calendar leaves in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (40051-62),³³ in particular those for the months of May and August (Figs. 8.10, 8.11). The figures of Virgo (August) and the young noblewoman (May) recur in the groups of virgins in the *Holy Virgins*; the youths harvesting grain on the page for August recall the beggar and the young monks in the borders of the *Saint Denis*. The unusual compositions incorporating illusionistic figural borders along three sides separated by identical thin gold bars, the daring originality of the continuous landscapes, the exceptionally thin parchment, the way the paint was applied in transparent washes, the muted colors, and even the secondary decoration all leave little doubt that the Calendar pages were painted by the same hand and at the same

time as the two Breviary leaves. Were the dimensions (the Calendar pages are about 124 x 86 mm, with a written area 87 x 47 mm) and script (*lettre batarde* rather than *textualis gotica formata*) not so different, it would be tempting to see the Calendar leaves as *membra disjecta* from the same book as the *Holy Virgins* and the *Saint Denis*. That they include many English saints, especially saints like Winifred (1 November) who were venerated in the region of York, makes it possible to imagine Margaret, who married Charles the Bold in 1468, being so pleased with her husband's Breviary and so taken with its artist that she ordered her own Book of Hours from the talented painter from Valenciennes, who outdid himself creating its innovative Calendar.

That Robert Lehman purchased the *Holy Virgins* and the *Saint Denis* in different countries in different years and that they are probably not from the same portion of the Breviary decreases the chances that the remainder of the book has been irretrievably lost or damaged. That the Breviary must have been extensively illuminated increases the odds that even if the text pages were discarded, other full-page miniatures may have survived. If other miniatures are identified, they may in turn provide further clues to the contents of the mysterious ducal Breviary and to resolving the still intriguing problem of identifying Simon Marmion's works.

NOTES:

1. The destruction of the files of the A. S. Drey company during World War II means that the provenance of the leaf cannot be traced further. A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files says that Robert Lehman acquired this leaf from Drey on 1 February 1930, and another note says Robert Lehman believed he bid \$300 on a page from the same book in a sale at C. G. Boerner in Leipzig on 9-10 May 1930 (Boerner catalogue 1930, lot 254, pl. 28). Lot 254 in the Boerner sale, however, turns out to have been a miniature by the Master of Jacques of Luxembourg that was removed from a Book of Hours now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M.1003; New York 1982-83, no. 80, ill.). I thank Nicole Reynaud, formerly of the Louvre, for identifying the Morgan manuscript.
2. According to De Ricci (1937, p. 1716), Robert Lehman acquired the second leaf from Rappaport in Rome, but this has not been further documented.
3. For a published text that is close to that on the Lehman leaf, see the Colbertine Breviary in the British Library, London (Gambier-Parry 1912-13).
4. None of the Breviaries listed in Leroquais 1934 have an illustration at this juncture.
5. Malibu-New York-London 1983-84, pp. 40-48, no. 5, colorpls. 5-7 (fols. 41, 252, 309).

6. New York 1964, p. 36, no. 43, ill.; De Winter 1981, especially p. 346.
 7. These events are described in Liebman 1942, chaps. 5, 6, 16, 30, 33. The predominance of scenes illustrating the period before Denis went to France is somewhat unusual, although the same scenes are illustrated in some other manuscripts, for example a *Vie de Saint Denis* of about 1250 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (N. a. fr. 1098, fols. 31v, 34, 42, 44). On the life of Saint Denis, see also Bähr 1984, pp. 236–41.
 8. Both the Breviary of Isabella of Castile (232 x 159 mm) and that of Eleanor of Portugal (240 x 170 mm) have larger pages than the Breviary the Lehman leaf was removed from. Isabella's Breviary has 523 folios and its text is written in approximately 30 lines per page; Eleanor's has 590 folios and its text is written in 32 lines per page.
 9. Dehaisnes 1892; Klemm 1914; Hoffman 1978; Grosshans 1991; Grosshans 1992. On the London shutters, see also Davies 1968, pp. 85–87, nos. 1302, 1303, and Davies 1970, pp. 18–26.
 10. Brussels 1959, pp. 64–66, nos. 58, 59, colorpl. 2 (9232, fol. 9), pls. 27–29 (9231, fols. 24, 407v; 9232, fol. 444v); Debae in Gilissen 1970, pp. 29–32, nos. 22, 23, ill. (9231, fol. 109v; 9232, fol. 375); Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, pp. 84–87, no. 37, ill. (9232, fols. 269, 388 [color]).
 11. Byvanck 1931, pp. 25–28, pls. 6–9 (fols. 4v, 46v, 56, 63v); Brussels 1959, pp. 66–67, no. 60.
 12. Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, pp. 77–78, no. 34, ill. (fols. 56, 63v).
 13. Kren in Kren and Wieck 1990, pp. 27ff.
 14. Kren 1992 (including a translation of the text and color reproductions of the miniatures).
 15. Pächt 1948, pp. 64–65, no. 7, pls. 10–13, 40b, 40c, 19, 45; De Schryver and Unterkircher 1969; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 5, 7–8, 63, 64, ill. 1, fig. 8b (fols. 43v, 94).
 16. Harthan 1977, pp. 146–49, color ills. (fols. 85v–86, 153v–154); Brinkman 1992, pp. 184–86, figs. 141–45 (fols. 13, 152v–154, 237v–238); Clark 1992, pp. 196–97, 200, 202, figs. 158, 174 (fols. 129v, 213v). Clark dated the manuscript to about 1475–80.
 17. I thank Margaret Lawson of the Paper Conservation Department at the Metropolitan Museum for her assistance with my technical queries on this miniature.
 18. Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 31–39, no. 4, ill. (fols. 75v, 79v, 102v, 133v, 135v, 227v–228); Clark 1992, pp. 199–201, 205, figs. 165–68 (fols. 39v, 87v, 227v, 240v).
 19. Ghent 1975, p. 377, no. 614; Clark 1992, pp. 199–201, 203, figs. 164, 179 (fols. 48, 72v).
 20. Clark 1992, pp. 195–96, 201, figs. 154, 155, 169 (fols. 37, 73, 77).
 21. Ghent 1975, pp. 364–65, no. 596; Dominguez Rodriguez 1979, pp. 16–20, no. 2, pl. 2; Clark 1992, pp. 196, 201, fig. 156 (fol. 34v).
 22. Paris 1993–94, pp. 88–89, no. 40, ill. (d and c); Paris–Cambridge, Mass.–New York 1994–95, pp. 2–3, no. 1.
 23. Hindman in London–Tokyo–Nagoya 1988–89, pp. 74–75, 135, no. 35, ill.
 24. Dutschke 1989, pp. 523–26, fig. 124 (fol. 84); Clark 1992, pp. 196–97, 201–2, 204, figs. 157, 172, 182 (fols. 15v, 28, 84).
 25. I would therefore modify somewhat the chronology Kren proposed in Malibu–New York–London 1983–84 (p. 31, under no. 4) for the Books of Hours attributed to Marmion. Kren dated the Berlaymont, the Salting, and the Rolin Hours in the 1470s and thought that the Turin and Morgan Hours, along with four other books with illusionistic borders, were likely to have been produced closer to 1480 or later.
 26. Michiels (1865–76, vol. 3, p. 383) suggested that the documented Breviary corresponds with a Book of Hours with grisaille miniatures made for Philip the Good that is now in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (AA271). Dehaisnes (1892, p. 99) disputed Michiels's theory but offered none of his own. Winkler ([1925] 1978, p. 178) suggested that the Huth Hours (see note 18 above) might be the Breviary, on the basis of the initials MY (for Margaret of York?) found in its borders.
 27. Archives Départementales du Nord, Comptes de la Recette Générale, Inventaire Sommaire, vol. 4, ser. B, no. 2064, fol. 128v, text quoted in Hénault 1907, p. 416, no. 27.
 28. Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles, Fonds de la Chambre des Comptes du Duc de Bourgogne, reg. no. 1925, fol. 47v, text quoted in Hénault 1907, p. 419, no. 35:
- A Simon Marmion enlumineur, la somme de vij^{xx} xviii^j. xv. solz de xl. gros pour pluseur parties distoires, vignettes lettres et autres parties par luy faites ou bréviaire de Monseigneur, ainsi qu'il s'ensieult. Et premièrement, pour avoir historié et vignetté le calendrier dudit bréviaire et fait le signetz y partinens en chascun des douze mois de l'an, au pris de xxiiij solz pour chascun mois, font xiiij livres viij. s. Item pour lxxviiij quayers vignettes et furniz de histoires pour ledit bréviaire, contenant chascun quayer huit feuiliez, au pris de xl. s. pour chascun quayer, font : vj^{xx} xvi. liv. Item pour unze histoires de couleurs faittes oudit bréviaire, au pris de iiij livres x. s. chascune histoire, font : xlix liv. x. s. Item pour iiij^{xx} iiij histoires d'autres couleurs faittes oudit bréviaire, au pris de lx. s. pièce, font ij^c xlix. livr. Item pour ij^m v^c lettres de deux poins faiz oudit bréviaire, au pris de vj. s. le cent, font vij l. x. s. Item pour v^m viij^c lix lettres dung point faittes audit bréviaire, au pris de iiij s. le cent, font : xj. liv. xiiij. s. vj. d. Et pour cv lettres de v. vj et viij poins seruans emprez les histoires oudit bréviaire, au pris de vj deniers chascune lettre, font lij. s. vj. d. Montent ensemble toutes lesdites parties à la somme de iiij^c iiij^{xx} x. liv. xv solz, sur quoy ledit Simon a receu en prest par les mains de Monseigneur et de l'évesque de Salubrye iiij^c xxxij liv.
29. Leroquais 1929; Smith 1992, pp. 48, 49, fig. 12 (fol. 258).
 30. See Hughes 1984, p. 16, and Blockmans 1992, especially pp. 33–44.
 31. Corstanje et al. 1982 (a facsimile); Hughes 1984, no. 21; Barstow 1992, p. 262, no. 27; Blockmans 1992, pp. 36–37,

- figs. 4–6 (fols. 40v, 137, 145); Derolez 1992, pp. 100–101, fig. 66 (fol. 163); Smith 1992, p. 50.
32. Hughes 1984, no. 12; Barstow 1992, p. 258, no. 1; Blockmans 1992, pp. 34, 35, 39–40, fig. 2 (fol. 1); Morgan 1992, p. 70; Smith 1992, pp. 49, 50, fig. 14 (fol. 17).
33. Hoffman 1958, p. 173; Clark 1992, p. 207, n. 14. Brinkmann (1992, pp. 191–92, n. 8) has related the Calendar

leaves to three other manuscripts probably made in the area of Cambrai or Valenciennes and grouped them with two other fragments he believes are from the same Book of Hours: one in the Historisches Museum, Frankfurt (c. 85–89, 754–59, 6439–41), the other, including thirteen miniatures, sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on 19 May 1976, lot 26.

Monogrammist IM

Southern Netherlands, Ghent(?), ca. 1480

9. The Crucifixion Leaf from a Missal

1975.1.2475

Recto(?): blank.

Tempera on parchment. 270 x 190 mm; miniature (without frame) 266 x 185 mm. Inscribed on the scroll: *vere filius dei erat iste*. Signed in gold at the lower right: IM (the I superimposed on the M).

The leaf has been severely trimmed on all four sides, resulting in the loss of the margins and a portion of the painted frame surrounding the miniature. The trimming of the frame makes it difficult to obtain a clear idea of the original decorative schema. The miniature, painted on relatively thick parchment, has suffered some damage. Losses are evident, particularly in the garment of Longinus and in the background. Actively flaking pigment was consolidated by the staff in the Paper Conservation Department at the Metropolitan Museum in 1984. Since then, the leaf has remained in stable condition.

PROVENANCE: Édouard Kann, Paris; [Wildenstein and Co., New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in March 1927 from Wildenstein.

EXHIBITED: New York 1927, no. 4; Paris 1957, no. 173, pl. 78 (as Netherlands, ca. 1480); Cincinnati 1959, no. 338, ill. (as Flemish, fifteenth century); Lawrence, Kansas, 1969, no. 25, pl. 59 (as Flemish, late fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: Boinet 1926, pp. 11–12, no. 4, pl. 4 (as Flemish, second half of the fifteenth century); De Ricci 1937, p. 1712 (as Flemish, ca. 1460); Sterling 1957, pp. 138, 140, fig. 7 (as Flemish school [Monogrammist IM], ca. 1480); Pächt and Jenni 1975, vol. 1, p. 82 (as Master of Evert Zoudenbalch[?]).

This large miniature is of special interest because of its high quality and because of the monogram in the lower right corner, an I superimposed on an M, which belongs to an as yet unidentified artist whom Sterling first dubbed

the Monogrammist IM in 1957. Although it is possible that the miniature, which is blank on one side, was not intended for a manuscript, it is more likely, based on the remains of the decorative frame of alternating red, blue, and gold bands, the red and blue bands with white curving lines, to have decorated a Missal, where it would have prefaced the Canon of the Mass.

When Boinet published this *Crucifixion* in 1926, while it was in the collection of Édouard Kann, he attributed it to a Flemish painter and dated it to the second half of the fifteenth century, noting that certain of the figures, such as the swooning Virgin, recall the works of Rogier van der Weyden. In 1937 De Ricci credited it to a Flemish artist working about 1460 who was strongly influenced by the Van Eycks. In the catalogue of the Paris exhibition of 1957 Béguin dated the miniature to about 1480 and advanced the hypothesis that it is by a Dutch painter of the generation of Hugo van der Goes (active 1467, d. 1482) and Joos van Gent (active 1460–after 1475) who worked in the southern Netherlands, probably in Ghent, where the influence of Rogier van der Weyden was strong. Béguin and Sterling, in his review of the Paris exhibition, were the first to note the presence of the monogram. In 1969, when the miniature was exhibited in Lawrence, Kansas, Schrader thought a date of 1490–1500 and a center somewhat remote from Bruges or Ghent – Antwerp, perhaps – might be more feasible. He noted a relationship between this *Crucifixion*, particularly the figures of the Magdalen and Saint John, and the early style of Quentin Massys, and he found certain decorative details typical of the



No. 9 (reduced)



Fig. 9.1 Infrared photograph of monogram *IM* in lower right corner of No. 9

general Eyckian revival at the end of the fifteenth century.¹ In 1975 Pächt and Jenni tentatively attributed the illumination to a Dutch miniaturist called the Master of Evert Zoudenbalch after a Bible that was made in Utrecht about 1460 for Zoudenbalch, who was canon of the Utrecht cathedral from 1455 to 1503.²

Infrared photography (Fig. 9.1) suggests that the monogram painted in gold on the miniature is contemporary

with the rest of the pigment. Few monograms used by miniaturists have been identified, and the initials *IM* do not correspond with those of any known Netherlandish illuminator of the late fifteenth century.³ The mark of the well-known printmaker Israhel van Meckenem (ca. 1445/50–1503) was similar but not identical (making it unlikely that the signature was added later in an attempt to associate the miniature with Van Meckenem).⁴ Van Meckenem's style is moreover quite remote from that of the Lehman miniature, as is that of the Monogrammist M, who has been identified as a friar working in the monastery of Saint Trudo at Liège in the early sixteenth century and who sometimes signed his small devotional prints, most of which depict single standing figures, with an *IM* monogram much like this one.⁵ The similarity of the mark on the Lehman miniature to that of Topie (Michel) and Jacques Herenderch, printers who were working in Lyons about 1490, is probably merely coincidental.⁶ The mark or monogram that appears on some of the twenty-nine engravings



Fig. 9.2 Master IAM of Zwolle, *The Crucifixion*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926, 26.64.3

Fig. 9.3 Follower of Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross*. Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, 1398



signed by the artist known as the Master IAM of Zwolle also bears some resemblance to our artist's mark. Vries, Dubbe, and Châtelet have all identified the Master IAM with the painter Jan van den Mijnnesten, who was active in Zwolle by 1462 and died in 1504.⁷ The dates of his activity, the possibility that he might also have been a painter, and the compositions of his two engravings of the Crucifixion (Bartsch VI.5, 6), which depict the two thieves bound to their crosses in grotesquely contorted poses (see Fig. 9.2), might tempt us to speculate that the Master IAM painted the Lehman miniature. Insofar as one can judge from works in different mediums, however, the miniature and the prints are by two artists with quite distinct stylistic sensibilities.

As Boinet first pointed out in 1926, the painter of this leaf was deeply indebted to the work of Rogier van der Weyden, especially Rogier's figure types, which he must have known well. The poses of Saint John the Evangelist and the Virgin swooning in his arms at the left in the miniature, for example, are virtually identical to those in Rogier's *Altarpiece of the Sacraments* in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.⁸ This figure group is also found in works by Rogier's workshop and his followers, such as the *Descent from the Cross*, a panel painting in the Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (Fig. 9.3),⁹ and a *Crucifixion* that is half of a diptych in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.¹⁰ Rogier's triptych of the Crucifixion in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna,¹¹ or the *Crucifixion* in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, that is attributed to his workshop,¹² was the source for the figure of Mary Magdalen clutching the cross in the Lehman miniature. The landscape and the large castellated building in the miniature are also similar to those in the Vienna *Crucifixion*. The figure of Christ in the miniature derives from the same painting, although the exact pattern of the fluttering loincloth is closer to that in the Sforza Altarpiece (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels), which is attributed to a follower of Rogier.¹³

A few other details of the Lehman miniature correspond with details in works by followers of Rogier. For example, the group to the right of the cross – composed of the centurion Longinus and other soldiers – and the contrived arrangement of Adam's skull and bone at its foot have their counterparts in the *Descent from the Cross* in Munich. Longinus' ornate costume, his facial features, and to a lesser extent his stance occur in a *Crucifixion* in the New-York Historical Society.¹⁴ The

hooded, bowed figure of Mary, the sister of Martha, who kneels behind the Virgin with her hands clasped in front of her, recalls depictions of Mary Magdalen by Rogier's followers, for instance in a *Crucifixion* in the Prado, Madrid.¹⁵

As profoundly influenced as the painter of the Lehman miniature was by Rogier van der Weyden, however, he departed from Rogier's art in a number of fundamental respects. Whereas Rogier preferred bright primary colors, the Lehman artist painted mainly with secondary colors in pale hues, predominantly pale yellow, salmon pink, and especially aqua, which is used effectively on the left on Saint John's robe, on the right on the centurion's cloak, in the background for the sky and the water, and in the foreground for the moss growing on the rocks under the cross. To some extent the colors recall the shades employed by Joos van Gent, particularly in the *Crucifixion* in Saint Bavo Cathedral, Ghent, that is usually dated about 1465,¹⁶ and by Hugo van der Goes. The figural types also recall Hugo's work. The faces of the mourners on the left can be compared to similar figures Hugo painted in the 1470s, for example the images of Mary in the Portinari Altarpiece in the Uffizi, Florence,¹⁷ and in three paintings on canvas: a *Virgin and Child* in the Museo Civico, Pavia;¹⁸ *Christ and the Sorrowing Virgin* in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial, Toledo;¹⁹ and the *Virgin of the Passion* in the Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.²⁰

In general, the Lehman artist has incorporated Rogier's pathos, communicated by the exaggerated gestures of the mourners and the fluttering drapery of Christ's loincloth, into a densely packed narrative drama in which every available surface is filled. The iconography, however, deviates from the iconography that typifies Rogier's paintings. The conspicuous figure standing at Christ's left arrayed in a luxurious brocade garment is the unnamed centurion mentioned by Matthew (27:54), Mark (15:39), and Luke (23:47), who at the death of Christ exclaimed, "Indeed this man was the son of God" (vere filius dei erat iste), the words inscribed on the scroll he unfurls above his head.²¹ According to legend, the centurion came to be called Longinus, and in the *Golden Legend* the story was elaborated to include an account of Longinus' blindness being miraculously cured by a drop of Christ's blood that Longinus accidentally rubbed in his eyes after touching his lance.²² The painter of the Lehman *Crucifixion* has taken pains to convey Longinus' blindness through his peculiar gaze. Longinus is also identified with the soldier that John



Fig. 9.4 Jacob Jansz (Master of the Brunswick Diptych?), *The Entombment* (panel from an altarpiece). Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 4131

(19:34) said stabbed Christ's side with a spear just after he died, but as have many others, this artist has depicted the centurion and the soldier as two separate figures. Neither the centurion and the figures behind him at Christ's left nor the lance bearer and his two companions at Christ's right occur in Rogier's art, although a group similar to the one on Christ's left appears in the diptych in Chantilly, the *Crucifixion* in Dresden, and other works by Rogier's followers.

The inclusion of the two thieves, here pushed close to the central cross and arranged on their T-shaped crosses with their arms slung over the horizontal beams and bound, is also uncommon in Rogier's work. The iconography seems instead to derive from the work of the Master of Flémalle,²³ and it occurs as well in Joos van

Gent's *Crucifixion* in Saint Bavo's in Ghent. As Schrader first pointed out in 1969, this miniature also deviates from other Netherlandish representations of the Crucifixion in the reference it makes to the Last Judgment: the demure angel who holds the praying soul of the good thief above the arm of the cross at Christ's right and the demon with batlike wings who carries off the flailing soul of the bad thief below the cross's arm at Christ's left.²⁴ Although I have not found this detail in Netherlandish paintings of the late fifteenth century, it appears to be extremely common in German paintings of the same period.²⁵ The artist might possibly have had Rhenish connections or have worked in the area of the Lower Rhine.

The broad handling of the somewhat coarse figures in this *Crucifixion*, the sweet and introspective expressions on many of the faces, the pale coloring, and the interest in narrative are all echoed in paintings from the northern Netherlands, particularly Haarlem, of the last two decades of the fifteenth century. The work of the Master of the Brunswick Diptych, who has been identified as Jacob Jansz (active before 1483, d. 1509), the teacher of Jan Mostaert, appears to be closest to this artist's.²⁶ An *Entombment* by Jacob Jansz, one of two altarpiece wings in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels (Fig. 9.4),²⁷ has comparable figure types and a similar muted palette, and it includes as well the gold rays emanating from the heads of the figures, a detail that Schrader connected, wrongly it would now seem, with the Eyckian revival in Antwerp in Massys's time. The script on the scroll Longinus holds aloft in the miniature can be compared with the script in the Missal of the Sisters of Abcoude in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (MS 160).²⁸ The Missal, which was a gift to the sisters in 1496 from Jacobus Willemsz. Vos, a canon of Saint Pancras, is, coincidentally, missing its miniature of the Crucifixion.

That the script, as well as the decoration of the frame, appears to be Dutch offers further confirmation of the Monogrammist IM's northern Netherlandish origin. The artist may have worked elsewhere, however, for the extent of his assimilation of Rogierian features seems unusual for a painter who remained in the north. As Béguin suggested, his debt to Rogier, coupled with his apparent familiarity with the work of Hugo van der Goes and Joos van Gent, could be accounted for if he worked in Ghent after leaving the northern Netherlands. We can only hope that the recovery of previously unknown Dutch paintings and miniatures may yet yield a positive identification for him.

NOTES:

1. Schrader also noted the presence of extensive underdrawing, a feature I have not confirmed.
2. Their suggestion that the miniature has been retouched in places is unfounded. On the Zoudenbalch Master, see also New York 1990, pp. 198-211, nos. 61-65.
3. See Bradley 1887-89 and D'Ancona and Aeschlimann 1949.
4. See Ris-Paquot [1893], vol. 1, pp. 244, 245, 260, nos. 5249, 5275-76, 5596-97, and Koreny 1986.
5. See Hollstein [1949-], vol. 13, pp. 75ff.
6. See Ris-Paquot [1893], vol. 2, p. 347, no. 7459.
7. Vries 1954; Vries 1958; Dubbe 1970; Châtelet 1981, pp. 168-70, 244. On the Master IAM, see also Lehrs 1908-34, vol. 7, pp. 165-218; Hollstein [1949-], vol. 12, pp. 252-79; and Bénézit 1976, vol. 7, p. 96.
8. Friedländer 1967-76, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 16, pls. 34, 35.
9. Ibid., p. 79, no. 95, pl. 111.
10. Ibid., p. 77, no. 88, pl. 107.
11. Ibid., p. 62, no. 11, pls. 18, 19.
12. Ibid., p. 78, no. 90, pl. 108.
13. Ibid., no. 93, pl. 109.
14. Ibid., no. 92, pl. 108.
15. Ibid., no. 91, pl. 108.
16. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 74, no. 100, pls. 102-4.
17. Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 69-70, no. 10, pls. 14-18.
18. Ibid., p. 87, add. 137, pl. 113.
19. Ibid., pp. 87-88, add. 138, pl. 114.
20. Ibid., p. 88, add. 139, pl. 114. Compare also the drawing of the Crucifixion by Hugo at Windsor Castle (Winkler 1964, no. 195).
21. See Réau 1955-59, vol. 2, part 2, p. 496.
22. See Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1260) 1993, vol. 1, p. 184.
23. See, for example, the *Descent from the Cross* in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, which is a copy after a triptych by the Master of Flémalle of which only a fragment of the right-hand shutter, showing the good thief, has survived (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt; Friedländer 1967-76, vol. 2, p. 71, nos. 59, 59a, pls. 86, 87).
24. See Réau 1955-59, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 493-94.
25. Among the many examples, see Stange 1938, vol. 3, especially figs. 165, 197, 228.
26. See Amsterdam 1958, pp. 55-58, nos. 25-31, pls., 13, 16, 19, 20, and (with further bibliography) Châtelet 1981, pp. 124-33, 223-26, nos. 86-97, pls. 104-6, 109-13, 209-12.
27. Châtelet 1981, pp. 126, 128, 130, 225, no. 92, pl. 111.
28. Hoogewerff 1936-47, vol. 2, pp. 312-14, vol. 5, pl. 10.

Southern Netherlands(?), Bruges(?)

ca. 1480-90

10. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem Leaf from an Evangelary

1975.1.2471

Verso: Lesson for the first Sunday in Advent (incomplete).

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 274 x 184 mm, miniature 156 x 124 mm. A full illuminated border of gray blue acanthus, flowers, and grotesques on a gold stippled ground frames the miniature on the recto. Below the miniature is a rubric in red: "Dominica prima in adventu[m] d[omi]ni / Sequentia s[an]cti ev[an]gelii s[an]cti matheu[m]," followed by a four-line gold acanthus initial I on a blue acanthus ground that begins the lesson for the first Sunday in Advent (Matthew 21:1-9): "In illo tempore cum appropinquasset ihesus . . .," the text continuing on the verso (mostly illegible), written in dark brown ink in an angular *textualis gotica formata* book hand on about 20 lines, ruled in brown ink, justification 200 x 125 mm. Annotated on the verso at center bottom in pencil: 60 (circled).

The leaf has been trimmed to the edge of the illuminated border on the recto. Some paint is flaking in the sky at the upper left, on the right border (especially in the iris), in the water in the background, and on the feet of the man in the foreground. The blues and greens were found to be the most unstable. The pigment has been consolidated in the

areas that are flaking. In some areas the miniature is oddly painted, the thick blue pigment having been applied directly onto the parchment without underpainting. The verso is badly damaged by the adhesive residues that remain from when it was pasted down, so that the text cannot be read without the aid of ultraviolet light.

PROVENANCE: Adalbert von Lanna (1836-1909; Lugt 1659, 1660, 2773), Prague (Lanna sale 1911, lot 32, ill. [as Flemish, second half of the fifteenth century]); [C. G. Boerner, Leipzig] (sale, 28 November 1912, lot 51, color ill. [as Flemish, second half of the fifteenth century]); Édouard Kann, Paris; [Wildenstein and Co., New York]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Wildenstein in March 1927.

EXHIBITED: New York 1927, no. 6; Paris 1957, no. 163 (as Ghent-Bruges school, end of the fifteenth century); Cincinnati 1959, no. 341, ill. (as Ghent-Bruges school, end of the fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: Boinet 1926, p. 13, no. 6, pl. 6 (as Ghent-Bruges school, end of the fifteenth century); De Ricci 1937, p. 1717 (as Flemish, ca. 1510).



No. 10, recto (reduced)



No. 10, verso

This large miniature, painted in a curious style, is little known despite its impressive provenance. The leaf is not from a Book of Hours, as De Ricci believed, but from an Evangelary, a book that gives the Gospel readings for each feast throughout the liturgical year, beginning in the Temporal with the first Sunday during Advent. The first part of the rubric under the miniature on the recto, "Dominica prima in adventum domini," identifies the feast as the first Sunday in Advent. The second part, "Sequentia sancti evangelii sancti mattheum," identifies the source of the passage as the Gospel of Saint Matthew. The phrase after the rubric, "In illo tempore cum appropinquasset ihesus iherosolimus et venisset bethphage ad montem," is the beginning of Matthew 21 (And when they drew nigh to Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto mount [Olivet, then Jesus sent two disciples ...]). The full account of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, as found in Matthew 21:1-9, normally constitutes the reading for this feast in an Evangelary,¹ and the few words that can be made out on the verso of the Lehman leaf indicate that the text continues there.

A miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem typically appears at the beginning of an illuminated Evangelary. Compared to miniatures of the same subject in other illuminated Evangelaries (see Fig. 10.3), the Lehman miniature illustrates the story with unusual attention to detail. Christ rides on an ass in the center foreground as the disciples follow behind with the ass's foal, on which they have draped their clothes. In front of Christ a man from the crowd has spread his garment on the path. In the tree in the center middle ground a youth cuts branches to be strewn on the path, and some of the people in the crowd carry branches. To the right of the tree a man kneels in prayer; with a magnifying glass one can barely make out the words of thanksgiving from Matthew 21:9 (Hosanna to the son of David) written in Latin in gold leaf to look as though they are emanating from his mouth. The onion domes of the city of Jerusalem dominate the skyline at the left.

Two other leaves in all likelihood from the same manuscript were offered with this one at the sale of the collection of Adalbert von Lanna in Vienna in 1911. One of those leaves, with a miniature depicting Christ's entry into Jericho and his supper with his disciples at the house of Zacchaeus (Fig. 10.1), is in the Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, Paris (no. 187).² The other, with an illustration of the martyrdom of Saint Quentin (Fig. 10.2), has not appeared in the literature since the 1911 sale.³

A miniature illustrating Christ's entry into Jericho and the text of Luke 19:1-10 customarily accompanies the Feast of the Dedication of the Church, which introduces the second part of an Evangelary. The miniature on the verso of the Wildenstein leaf also closely follows the Gospel reading, which tells how the rich tax collector Zacchaeus, who was a short man, climbed a tree so he could see Christ over the heads of the crowd. When Jesus ordered Zacchaeus to come down from the tree and told him that he would stay at his house while he was in Jericho, Zacchaeus announced that he intended to give half his belongings to the poor and repay fourfold anyone he had wronged. The miniature shows Christ and the disciples dining at a large round table as Zacchaeus stands in the foreground holding a large money chest, ready to make good his promise.

The rubrics on the leaf with the *Martyrdom of Saint Quentin* (Fig. 10.2) introduce the text of Paul's Epistle to the Romans (1:13), the Epistle reading for the feast of the first Sunday during Advent. This text is typically found at the beginning of an Epistolar, a book that contains readings from the Epistles arranged, as in the

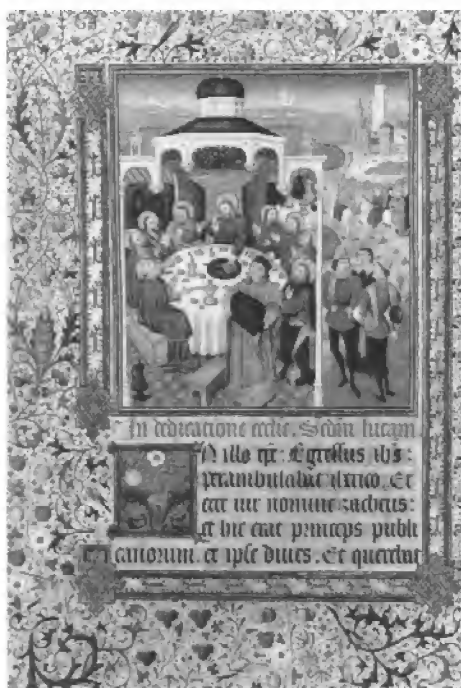


Fig. 10.1 *Christ's Entry into Jericho and His Supper with His Disciples in the House of Zacchaeus* (leaf from an Evangelary). Musée Marmottan, Paris, Wildenstein Collection, no. 187



Fig. 10.2 *The Martyrdom of Saint Quentin* (leaf from an Epistolary). Present location unknown. Reproduced from *Catalogue der Sammlung Baron Lanna-Prag* (sale, Gilhofer and Rauschburg, Vienna, 3–4 April 1911), lot 33

Evangelary, according to the liturgical year. The original book that contained these three leaves must therefore have included an Epistolary and an Evangelary, perhaps in two volumes. The leaf with the *Martyrdom of Saint Quentin* was most likely the opening page of the book (or two-volume set). Its historiated initial F (for “Fratres”), in which the apostle Paul stands holding a sword in his right hand as he preaches from the book he holds in his left, is more elaborate than those on the other two leaves and would have been suitable for a more important section of the book.

The subject of the lost miniature is unusual. According to the *Golden Legend*, Quentin, a Roman of noble birth, traveled to Gaul in the fourth century and worked numerous miracles in the city of Amiens, on the river Somme in northern France.⁴ By order of the prefect Maximian he was arrested and withstood many tortures before being brought to Vermandois, east of Amiens. There the judge ordered that red-hot nails be driven through his body from his head to his legs and pegs be driven under his fingernails before he was beheaded. In the miniature, Quentin’s tormentors raise their heavy hammers, ready to drive large nails through his shoulders, as the prefect looks on at the right. A vignette in the background at the right shows the saint being beaten. Saint Quentin appears to be presenting the book he holds in his left hand, which is a departure from the usual iconography. The elegantly clothed man at the left is undoubtedly the donor.

Both the now lost *Saint Quentin* and the Lehman leaf have borders decorated with stylized and illusionistic flowers and acanthus leaves on a gold ground. The border of colored sprays of acanthus interspersed with birds and flowers on a white ground on the Wildenstein leaf is more old-fashioned, and the nearly square miniature is further set off by a frame composed of leaves arranged along a bar decorated at its corners with lozenges filled with interwoven ropelike bands. The other two miniatures have simpler, arched frames. Despite these discrepancies, it seems probable that all three leaves derive from the same book. The same miniaturist, with the same literal approach to his subject matter, was responsible for all three paintings. The detailed articulation of the architecture, the extremely high horizon, and the odd physiognomic types, with their tiny eyes and neckless torsos, are all hallmarks of his idiosyncratic style. Moreover, the dimensions of the three leaves correspond exactly, and they were written by the same scribe, whose peculiarly spiky hand is easy to identify. The Lehman and the Wildenstein pages each have six lines

of text, the Saint Quentin page has eight, and on all three the text is prefaced by a red rubric and introduced by a four-line decorated initial.

As an Epistolary-Evangelary is used by the celebrant of the Mass at a specific church, it seems reasonable to postulate that the book these three leaves came from was presented (probably by the unidentified donor at the left in the *Martyrdom of Saint Quentin*) to a church dedicated to Saint Quentin in the region where the cult of the saint was especially prevalent. Such churches exist in Saint-Quentin and Noyon in northern France and in Louvain in the southern Netherlands. An Epistolary and an Evangelary (see Fig. 10.3) for the use of Amiens made about 1490 for Antoine Clabault, seventeen-time mayor of Amiens, and his first wife, Ysabeau Fauvel (whose arms and initials appear in the decorative frames of the miniatures), were presented to the parish church of Saint-Firmin-au-Val at Clabault's death in 1504 (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MSS 661, 662).⁵

The Lehman leaf and its two companion leaves can be added to a small group of manuscripts thought to have been produced in the southern Netherlands. The group includes a copy of the *Bible historiale* in the Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (MS 129);⁶ a copy of the *Cité de Dieu* (Raoul de Presles' translation of Saint Augustine's *City of God*) written in 1466 by the scribe Jean Du Quesne for Anthony of Burgundy (b. 1421), bastard son of Philip the Good, and now in Turin (Biblioteca del Archivio di Stato, b.III.12.J, and Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, I.I.6);⁷ and a Gradual from the collection of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (r. 1458–90) that is now in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest (Cod. Lat. 424).⁸ The Turin manuscript allows us to localize the books in the group in Bruges, where other manuscripts ordered by Anthony of Burgundy were made,⁹ and to date them to the last third of the fifteenth century. Jean Du Quesne worked in Lille, but we know he copied at least one manuscript for a client in Bruges, the famous art patron and bibliophile Louis de Gruuthuse.¹⁰ That the style of the miniatures shows the influence of Loyset Liédet, who was active first in Hesdin and then in Bruges until 1478, also provides some confirmation of the locale and the date.¹¹ Liédet's preference for square faces and animated poses, for example, survives in our artist's treatment of his figures.

The style of the illuminator who painted the *Entry into Jerusalem* is recognizable particularly in the squat, neckless figures in the opening page of the *Bible historiale*, which depicts three scribes writing (Fig. 10.4).



Fig. 10.3 *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*. Evangelary of Saint-Firmin-au-Val, fol. 1. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS 661. Photograph: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

In both arrangement and detail the architecture in the frontispiece is very similar to that in the *Martyrdom of Saint Quentin*. In the *Bible historiale* the unusual mingling of decorative motifs, some modern, some old-fashioned, is comparable to that on the Wildenstein *Entry into Jericho*, as are the combination of ivy leaves and acanthus in the border and the leafy frame on the miniature. The same frame as that on the Wildenstein miniature was used on the *Select Gods* in the Turin volume (Fig. 10.5). Like the Lehman miniature and its two companion leaves, the miniatures in the Budapest Gradual (see Fig. 10.6) illustrate the narrative with many anecdotal vignettes incorporated into the same composition.

The Budapest Gradual, traditionally dated in the 1480s or 1490s, is the only manuscript in the group with illusionistic Ghent-Bruges decoration like that on



Fig. 10.4 *Three Scribes Writing*. Guyart des Moulins, *Bible historiale*, fol. 3, frontispiece. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, MS 129



Fig. 10.5 *The Select Gods*. Saint Augustine, *The City of God*, fol. 319v. Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin, L.1.6

Fig. 10.6 *The Resurrection*. Gradual, fol. 3. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 424

the Lehman and *Saint Quentin* leaves. The palette of all three companion leaves – richer, generally brighter in value, with more orange, a deeper green, and less white than that used on all the other miniatures in the group except those in the Budapest manuscript – may also indicate a date perhaps as late as the 1480s. The large proportions of the figures, the sophistication of the architecture, and the detailed landscapes confirm a later date as well, contemporary with the manuscripts produced in the 1480s in Bruges under the patronage of Louis de Gruuthuse that are characteristic of the later style of the Master of Anthony of Burgundy and the artists of his circle.¹²

NOTES:

1. See, for example, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MSS lat. 899–902, 1130.
2. Lanna sale 1911, lot 34, ill. (the subject incorrectly identified as the Last Supper); Pittsburgh 1951, no. 16; Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 187 (as a depiction of the Meal of Christ at Jericho and Christ's Entrance into Jerusalem).



- Wildenstein bought this leaf, along with the Lehman leaf, from Édouard Kann in 1926 (see Boinet 1926, p. 18, no. 16, pl. 16).
3. Lanna sale 1911, lot 33, ill. (the subject incorrectly identified as the Flagellation of Christ).
 4. On Quentin's life, see Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1260) 1993, vol. 2, pp. 265–66, and Holweck 1924, pp. 841–42.
 5. Martin and Lauer 1929, pp. 62–63; Reynaud in Paris 1993–94, pp. 390–91, no. 220, ill. (fol. 104v of the Epistolary). I thank Nicole Reynaud, formerly of the Louvre, for calling them to my attention.
 6. Cahn and Marrow 1978, pp. 242–43; Shailor 1984, pp. 177–79.
 7. Laborde 1909, vol. 1, p. 126, vol. 2, pp. 371–87, vol. 3, pls. 23a–27a, 42–43a; Dogaer 1987, p. 103 (where the manuscript is included, wrongly I believe, with those by Willem Vrelant). According to Shailor (1984, p. 178), the manuscript was divided in 1720 between the Biblioteca del Archivio di Stato and the Biblioteca Nazionale, and the part in the Biblioteca Nazionale was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1904.
 8. See Csapodi and Csapodi-Gárdonyi 1969, pp. 46, 98–99, colorpl. 7 (fol. 3), who suggest the Gradual was painted in Buda between 1480 and 1490 in imitation of Flemish work, and Soltész 1982 (with numerous reproductions in color).
 9. See Winkler (1925) 1978, p. 82, pls. 43–45; and Brussels 1959, pp. 113, 116–17, 118, nos. 120, 129, 133.
 10. See Bradley 1887–89, vol. 1, pp. 291–93.
 11. For the suggestion that the style recalls that of Liédet, see Cahn and Marrow 1978, p. 243. On Liédet and his circle, see Winkler (1925) 1978, pp. 75, 78, pls. 38, 39; Brussels 1959, pp. 69–75, nos. 66–70, pls. 30–32, pp. 101–3, 123–30, 132–33, nos. 143–47, 149–57, 161–63, pls. 49, 53; and Dogaer 1987, especially pp. 106–12.
 12. See Bruges 1981, nos. 108, 110, and Dogaer 1987, p. 121.

Gerard David

Oudewater ca. 1450–Bruges 1523

Gerard David was born in Oudewater, near Gouda in the Netherlands. In 1484 he was admitted as a free master to the Corporation of Imagemakers (*Beeldmakers*) and Saddlers in Bruges, and by 1501 he had been named dean of the corporation. From 1494 until 1522 he had a house across the Vlamijnbrugghe in Bruges, in the neighborhood where the painter Hans Memling and the illuminator Willem Vrelant had lived, and he owned another house in the Dyver.¹ Only two documented works are securely connected with David's name: the *Justice of Cambyzes* diptych in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges, which was commissioned by the aldermen of Bruges and is inscribed 1498,² and the *Virgin Among Virgins* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, which David donated to the Carmelite sisters of the Convent of Sion at Bruges in 1509.³ On the basis of these two paintings, along with the *Baptism of Christ* in the Groeningemuseum,⁴ many other works have been attributed to him.

Whether or not David was an illuminator as well as a panel painter is still controversial.⁵ In 1523 his widow, Cornelia, paid a mortuary debt in his name to the Bruges

illuminators' guild, which held a service in his honor, but his name appears nowhere else in the guild's register.⁶ There are no signed miniatures by him, and he is not cited as an illuminator by early biographers or historians of art. (When Vasari and Guicciardini refer to a certain Gerard the illuminator, they probably mean Gerard Horenbout.)⁷ Yet his art clearly had a profound influence on many Bruges illuminators, of his own generation and the next (most notably Simon Bening), and he may even have supplied patterns to the miniaturists who imitated his paintings.⁸ A small number of illuminations have been tentatively accepted as being by his hand. These include possibly three miniatures in a Book of Hours dated 1486 in the Escorial, Madrid (c-iii-2),⁹ three in the Breviary of Isabella of Castile in the British Library, London (Add. ms 18851),¹⁰ and the *Portrait of Maximilian* in the copy of Johannes Michael Nagonius' *Pronosticon de futuro imperio propagando* (Eulogy of Maximilian as Future Emperor) in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. 12750), the *Annunciation* in the Croy Book of Hours in the same museum

(Cod. 1858; see Fig. 12.7),¹¹ and a *Virgin Among Virgins* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M.659).¹² These miniatures have in common a looseness of execution, a precision of detail, and a monumentality, even on so small a scale, that suggest the sensibility of a panel painter.

NOTES:

1. See Miegroet 1987; De Vos 1988; Miegroet 1988; and Miegroet 1989, especially pp. 11–16, 21–33, and, for the documents, 333–56. See also Weale 1895; Bodenhause 1905; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 6b; Scillia 1975; and Mundy 1980.
2. Miegroet 1989, pp. 222, 297–98, no. 29, colorpl. 213.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 142–77, 288–90, no. 19, colorpls. 137, 138.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 292–93, no. 23, colorpl. 176.
5. On this question, see Winkler 1913; Winkler (1925) 1978; Schöne 1937; Van de Walle de Ghelcke 1952; Scillia 1975; Kren in Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 46; and Miegroet 1989, pp. 12–13.

6. Miegroet 1989, pp. 30, 33, n. 110.
7. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 7, p. 587, nn. 2, 4; Guicciardini (1567) 1588, p. 128; both quoted in Miegroet 1989, p. 11. In his *Schilderboeck* of 1604 Karel van Mander mentioned David only in passing: “Once in earlier times there lived a certain Gerard of Bruges of whom I know nothing, except that Pieter Pourbus praised him as an excellent painter” (Van Mander [1604] 1969, fol. 205; quoted in Miegroet 1989, p. 11).
8. See Scillia 1975, pp. 194–95, and Miegroet 1989, pp. 327–28.
9. Scillia 1975, pp. 165–73, 282, 286–87, figs. 31–33; Miegroet 1989, pp. 85–86, 326–27, no. 84, colorpls. 71–73.
10. Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 40–48, no. 5, ill.; Miegroet 1989, pp. 86, 327–28, no. 85, colorpls. 75–77.
11. Thoss in Vienna 1987, pp. 106, 117–18, nos. 68, 77, pls. 18, 19; Miegroet 1989, pp. 84–85, 88, 328–29, nos. 87, 88, colorpl. 79.
12. Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 46, 47, fig. 5f; Miegroet 1989, pp. 87, 328, no. 86, colorpl. 78.

Gerard David
Bruges, ca. 1485–90

11. Holy Face Leaf from a Book of Hours(?)

1975.I.2486

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment that has been trimmed and laid down on thin walnut. Miniature 90 x 54 mm.¹

In 1984 the painting was removed from its frame and cardboard mount in the Paper Conservation Department at the Metropolitan Museum. This revealed that it had been laid down on thin wooden board, which is not likely to be contemporary with the painting. The painting and the support have been fumigated. Many wormholes, which have been filled, can be seen with a microscope on the torso, neck, and little finger of the left hand. Ultraviolet photography (Fig. 11.1) shows areas of overpaint in the neck, shoulder, and hands. Infrared reflectography reveals no underdrawing.² The painting has been trimmed on the sides and top and part of the floriated gold nimbus cut off. The arch at the top of the picture is now only faintly discernible. The frame along the edges of the painting, some of the blue paint along the sides, and the blue fill in the top corners are later additions. The face and hands are in excellent condition, but there is some flaking at the lower edge and the paint on the torso seems to have been covered with a gum that has yellowed, causing the blue pigment to look green.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence(?);³ [M. and R. Stora, Paris(?)].⁴ Acquired by Robert Lehman in 1926.

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1716.

This painting belongs to the tradition of religious images known as *acheiropoieta*, or “images non manu factae” (images not made by [human] hand).⁵ It is one of a group of representations of the head of Christ, called the *vera icon* or the Holy Face, that have their roots in the Byzantine legend of King Abgar of Edessa and the many European variations of the Saint Veronica legend, including Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend* of about 1260.⁶ The story of Veronica became enormously popular in Europe in the thirteenth century and continuing through the later Middle Ages, and pilgrims traveled to Saint Peter’s in Rome to see what they believed to be the actual veil of Saint Veronica, or the sudarium, impressed with the image of Christ’s face.

One of the earliest surviving examples of a miniature of the *vera icon* appears in the Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.729, fol. 15), which dates from about 1285–1300.⁷ The miniature, a symmetrical, frontal view of Christ’s face surrounded by a gold halo and set in an architectural frame, accompanies a short office inspired



No. 11 (enlarged)

by Veronica's sudarium that was instituted by Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216). Two hymns composed in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries attest to the increasing spiritual importance of the *vera icon*. The first, “Ave facies praeclara,” was written between 1243 and 1254, during the papacy of Innocent IV, who granted an indulgence of forty days for its recitation. The second hymn, “Salve sancta facies,” is attributed to John XXII, who was pope from 1316 to 1334, and brought an indulgence of at least ten thousand days.⁸ During the fourteenth century these hymns were translated into the vernacular, and both the Latin and vernacular versions frequently appeared in Books of Hours accompanied by miniatures of the *vera icon* or the Holy Face. The “Salve sancta facies” appears below a *vera icon* miniature on a loose sheet of parchment tacked on the wall behind the sitter in the *Portrait of a Young Man* by the Bruges artist Petrus Christus in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 11.2), which is dated to about 1450.⁹

The Lehman miniature is close to a type of Holy Face image that conforms to the alleged eyewitness account



Fig. 11.1 Photograph of No. 11 with ultraviolet light



Fig. 11.2 Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Young Man*, with detail. National Gallery, London, 2593. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery



Fig. 11.3 After Jan van Eyck, *Holy Face*. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 528. Photograph: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin

in a letter from Publius Lentulus to the Roman Senate (but actually invented in an apocryphal document of the thirteenth century or later) that describes Christ as

having a reverend countenance which they that look upon may love and fear; having hair of the hue of an unripe hazel-nut and smooth almost down to his ears [and] waving over his shoulders; having a parting at the middle of the head according to the fashion of the Nazareans; a brow smooth and very calm, with a face without wrinkle or any blemish; . . . having a full beard of the colour of his hair, not long, but a little forked at the chin.¹⁰

One of the earliest images of this type, and the most influential, is a panel painting by Jan van Eyck of Bruges that portrays Christ in a frontal, bust-length pose wearing a red robe and surrounded by an elaborate tripartite



floriate nimbus. Van Eyck's original is lost, but several versions considered to be replicas have survived: one was formerly in the J. C. Swinburne collection in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England; three others are in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich; the Groeningemuseum, Bruges; and the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.¹¹ The Berlin version (Fig. 11.3) is considered by some to be closest to the original. Hans Memling, Gerard David, and their contemporaries copied Van Eyck's image with varying degrees of faithfulness. Both Memling and David transformed the image into a *Salvator Mundi* by including Christ's hands, the right in a gesture of blessing and the left holding an orb. In the painting after Memling in the Metropolitan Museum the bust of Christ is set against a landscape background.¹² Closer to Van Eyck's original is a badly damaged panel attributed to Gerard David that is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig. 11.4).¹³

Ainsworth has proposed that the Lehman *Holy Face* is also by Gerard David.¹⁴ She bases her attribution in part on the similarities between the *Holy Face* and the figure of Christ in the *Transfiguration* in Our Lady's

Fig. 11.4 Attributed to Gerard David, *Holy Face*. Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, J#330



Fig. 11.5 Attributed to Gerard David, *Transfiguration* (central panel above, with detail below). Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk (Our Lady's Church), Bruges. Photograph: Stad Bruges Stedelijke Musea





Fig. 11.6 Attributed to Gerard David, *Head of a Woman*. Hamburger Kunsthalle, 21575. Photograph copyright Elke Walford, Fotowerkstatt Hamburger Kunsthalle

Church in Bruges that has been ascribed to David (Fig. 11.5).¹⁵ The treatment of the torso, the hair and beard, and the folds of the garment; the physiognomy, especially the soft modeling of the face and the precisely placed highlight at the left of the iris of each eye; and the pose of the right hand are nearly the same in the miniature and the altarpiece, which is unfortunately badly abraded. Ainsworth points out as well that the modeling of the face in the Lehman miniature bears a striking resemblance to that in the underdrawing in the *Holy Face* in Philadelphia (Fig. 11.4)¹⁶ and in a drawing of the head of a woman in the Hamburger Kunsthalle (Fig. 11.6) that is also attributed to David.¹⁷ All three faces have been modeled with the long, parallel strokes at an oblique angle to the right side of the nose and shorter, curved parallel strokes angled along the rounded forms at the temple and cheek that are characteristic of David's draftsmanship.

The Lehman picture was most likely painted fairly early in David's career. It joins a small group of works ascribed to him that despite a lack of documentary evi-

dence have been dated to the late 1480s and the 1490s: the Philadelphia *Holy Face*, the Bruges *Transfiguration*, the Friedsam *Nativity* in the Metropolitan Museum,¹⁸ the *Pietà* in the John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art,¹⁹ and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.²⁰ Like those paintings, the Lehman *Holy Face* bespeaks David's stylistic roots in northern Netherlandish art, his assimilation of earlier Netherlandish painting, especially the art of Jan van Eyck, and the sculptural density in his treatment of the human form.

We cannot be sure whether the Lehman *Holy Face*, which is mounted on a thin board of walnut wood that is unlikely to be contemporary with the painting, was intended as an independent devotional image or whether it is a leaf from a book. Inventories of Margaret of Austria's belongings taken in 1516 and 1524 include "a small illuminated David on a cypress panel; . . . a very small illuminated Our Lady by the hand of Sanders



Fig. 11.7 Simon Bening, *Saint Matthew* (leaf from a Book of Hours). Brooklyn Museum of Art, Bequest of A. Augustus Healy Fund, 11.502

[Alexander Bening?]; . . . a small Our Lady made as an illumination on paper, framed by a thin band of silver-colored metal"; and "another painting of the passion of Our Lord made as an illumination, . . . this painting on cypress wood."²¹ Scailliérez has argued that this and similar descriptions in other documents suggest that there was around 1500 a gray area between illumination and painting. The "*Savior* illuminated on a small sheet of paper" that Dürer bought from eighteen-year-old Susanna Horenbout during his trip to the Netherlands in 1520–21 may have been an image like this.²² The survival of a few paintings on parchment that do not seem to come from books and appear to have been varnished at an early date corroborates the documentary evidence.²³

Small framed paintings of the Holy Face hang on the wall in the background of miniatures of the writing Evangelists by Simon Bening (see Nos. 13, 14) that preface the Gospel Sequences in Books of Hours from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The painting in the miniature depicting Saint Matthew (Fig. 11.7), one of a set of four miniatures of the Evangelists in the Brooklyn Museum (11.502–5), is a *Salvator Mundi* nearly identical to the Lehman miniature.²⁴ The simple frame, rather like the wood moldings on slate or wax tablets, suggests that the image is on a parchment leaf rather than a wood panel, which would most likely have been framed in a much more elaborate gilt wood molding (see Fig. 11.3). A similar simple molding frames what is clearly meant to be a sheet of parchment inscribed with pseudotext (and the date 1521) hanging from the bookshelf in the companion *Saint Luke* in the Brooklyn Museum. Separate small-scale devotional paintings, illuminated tablets, as it were, like those owned by Margaret of Austria also hang on the wall in the background of the *Saint Mark* by Bening in a Book of Hours in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen (MS 3028, fol. 65),²⁵ and the *Saint Mark* by Bening and the *Saint Luke* by Nikolaus Glockenden after Bening in the *Hortulus animae* in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. 2706, fols. 243, 244v).²⁶

Nevertheless, this *Holy Face* could as easily have come from an illuminated manuscript. The popularity of miniatures of this subject, which usually introduced the hymn "Salve sancta facies," often followed by "Ave facies praeclara," peaked in the late fifteenth century. Two such miniatures, in two Books of Hours now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. 1987, fol. 230v; s. n. 13243, fol. 15v), have been attributed to Willem Vrelant and his workshop in Bruges and dated



Fig. 11.8 Attributed to Simon Bening, *Holy Face*. Book of Hours, fol. 7v. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. lat. 23637

to about 1460.²⁷ One of those miniatures follows the older, Eyckian model of the Holy Face; the other is a *Salvator Mundi* like the Lehman image. By about 1480, Books of Hours produced in Bruges routinely included an image of the Holy Face. In most of these later manuscripts the miniature is of the Holy Face/*Salvator Mundi* type. That by then the miniature and the hymns were most often placed at the beginning of the book, before the Hours of the Virgin, is some measure of the increased popularity of private devotion to the Holy Face. A *Holy Face* (Fig. 11.8) attributed to Simon Bening in a Book of Hours in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Cod. lat. 23637, fol. 7v) is typical of such miniatures.²⁸ Others occur in Books of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (MS 220, fol. 146);²⁹ the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. 1907, fol. 13);³⁰ the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Cod. gall. 40, fol. 3v);³¹ the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (Vit. 24-2, fol. 15v);³² the Bodleian Library, Oxford



Fig. 11.9 Attributed to Gerard David, *Holy Face*. Croy Book of Hours, fol. 14v. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 1858. Photograph: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek



Fig. 11.10 Gerard David, *Virgin and Child*. Book of Hours, fol. 30v. Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Madrid, c-iii-2. Photograph copyright Patrimonio Nacional Archivo Fotográfico

(Douce 112);³³ and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Ludwig IX 18, fol. 9),³⁴ and have been variously attributed to the Master of the Older Prayer Book of Maximilian I, the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, the Master of James IV of Scotland, and other artists. Ainsworth compares the Lehman miniature to the *Holy Face* (Fig. 11.9) in the Croy Book of Hours in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1858, fol. 14v).³⁵ Except for minor variations in the left hand and the orb, the two miniatures are nearly identical. The Croy image, with its almond-shaped eyes and denser modeling, recalls David's later paintings, such as the *Virgin Among Virgins* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, which is securely dated to 1509.³⁶

If the Lehman *Holy Face* is from a manuscript, then it may be the miniature missing from a Book of Hours in the Escorial in Madrid (c-iii-2, fol. 14v) that is dated 1486 and was written for use in Brussels.³⁷ Nineteen

miniatures that have been assigned to several different artists remain in the Escorial Hours, fifteen full-page illuminations on tipped-in sheets and four smaller ones. Hulin de Loo (1931) and Schöne (1937) ascribed the fifteen large miniatures to Gerard David, but Scillia (1975) and Miegroet (1989) have argued that David's participation was limited to three miniatures: the *Crucifixion* (fol. 17v), the *Virgin and Child* (fol. 30v; Fig. 11.10), and the *Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 83v). The treatment of Christ in the *Crucifixion*, the virtuoso modeling of the hands in the *Virgin and Child*, and the dimensions and proportions of all three miniatures, with their arched frames, are echoed in the Lehman *Holy Face*. Schöne was the first to note that the Escorial manuscript lacks a miniature that he and others after him have assumed would have prefaced the Suffrage to Saint Veronica. But the missing miniature actually accompanied the "Salve sancta facies" near the beginning of the

book, before the Hours of the Virgin, and, as was customary in Bruges manuscripts, it would have depicted not Saint Veronica but the Holy Face.

Both the *Virgin and Child* and the *Holy Face* are devotional images that occupy a middle ground between the art of painting and the art of illumination. What would have been more logical than to delegate these particular images to a painter? If the Lehman *Holy Face* was indeed once part of the Escorial Hours, it joins the corpus of David's works as a dated miniature that enhances our understanding of the artist's early style and his contribution to two mediums.

NOTES:

1. I am grateful to Maryan Ainsworth of the Paintings Conservation Department at the Metropolitan Museum for her help with this entry. I thank Christopher McGlinchey, also of the Paintings Conservation Department (technical report, 10 May 1996), for identifying the primary support of the painting as parchment and Peter Klein, of the Department of Wood Biology, Universität Hamburg, for determining (on 8 May 1996) that the secondary support is walnut. As walnut is used for sculpture and furniture, for some Italian paintings, and mostly for French works, that the secondary support is contemporary with the illumination is very unlikely.
2. According to Ainsworth.
3. De Ricci's statement (1937, p. 1716) that the miniature was purchased from Luigi Grassi cannot be verified.
4. A note in the Robert Lehman Collection files says that Robert Lehman purchased this miniature "from [a] small dealer in the Boulevard Haussman [*sic*] near Babani's." The dealer was perhaps M. and R. Stora, at 32 bis, boulevard Haussmann, with whom Robert Lehman dealt during those years.
5. See Dobschütz 1899, pp. 197–262, 306–9; Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 17–19; Schiller 1971–72, vol. 2, pp. 78–79; Hand 1992; and New York 1994, pp. 86–89, under no. 4.
6. Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1260) 1993, vol. 1, p. 212.
7. Gould 1978, pp. 81–94, fig. 7.
8. On the hymns, see Julian [1892] 1957 and Hand 1992, p. 14.
9. Davies 1953, pp. 670–73, pls. 155–63; Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 1, pl. 91; Davies 1968, pp. 33–34; Hand 1992, pp. 10, 12, 13, figs. 4, 5; New York 1994, pp. 54, 61, figs. 66 (color), 82.
10. Quoted in James (1924) 1975, pp. 477–78, and Hand 1992, p. 10.
11. Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 1, p. 69, pl. 63. Friedländer has proposed that there were two panel paintings by Van Eyck, one dated 1438 and the other 1440. In the Berlin version of the painting, the frame of which is inscribed with the date 1438, Christ's red garment is decorated at the neckline with a band inscribed *REX REGUM*; the version in Munich has a jeweled neckline, as do those in England and Bruges, both of which bear inscriptions dating them to 1440. The Berlin and Munich paintings are lit from the right; those in England and Bruges are lit from the left. On the iconography of these paintings, see also Belting and Eichberger 1983, pp. 95–97. The Bruges painting is also reproduced in New York 1994, p. 86, fig. 104.
12. Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 6, p. 51, no. 38, pl. 90; De Vos 1994, p. 344, no. A12, ill. (as perhaps a contemporary copy after a lost painting by Memling); Baetjer 1995, ill. p. 253 (as workshop of Memling). For related works by Memling, see Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 6, pp. 51, 109, 112–13, nos. 39, 40, supp. 229, add. 259, pls. 90, 91; and De Vos 1994, pp. 142–43, 232–33, nos. 27, 61, ill. Because of the landscape background the Metropolitan Museum painting does not fully conform to the tradition of a *vera icon*. Belting and Eichberger (1983, p. 96) make the point that the double reference to Veronica's veil and to God as Savior was already present in Van Eyck's paintings, particularly in the *Last Judgment*, the right panel of the diptych in the Metropolitan Museum (Baetjer 1995, ill. p. 243).
13. Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 6, p. 105, no. 200, pl. 205; Johnson collection 1972, p. 29, no. 330; Ainsworth 1989, pp. 32–33, fig. 40; Miegroet 1989, pp. 127, 284, no. 13, colorpl. 112. See also the copy in the Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh (Miegroet 1989, pp. 128, 284, under no. 13, pl. 115).
14. Ainsworth, conversation with the author, July 1994.
15. Miegroet 1989, pp. 78, 287–88, no. 18, colorpl. 61.
16. See note 13 above. For the underdrawing, see Ainsworth 1989, fig. 39.
17. Hand in Washington, D.C.–New York 1986–87, pp. 132–33; Ainsworth 1989, pp. 22, 23, fig. 24; Miegroet 1989, pp. 137, 324, no. 77, colorpl. 127.
18. Miegroet 1989, pp. 36, 273–74, no. 1, colorpl. 11.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 105, 278–79, no. 6, colorpl. 88.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 282, no. 10, colorpl. 94.
21. Scaillièrez 1992, pp. 18–19, n. 6, quoting Le Glay 1839, pp. 481, 482, 484 (1516 inventory): "ung petit David de illuminure en ung tableaul de ciprès; . . . une bien petite Nostre-Dame de illuminure de la main de Sandres; . . . une petite Nostre-Dame faite de illuminure en papier; à l'entour une petite bende de fil d'argent de lassin"; and Zimmerman and Kreydzi 1885, p. xcix, no. 148 (145) (1524 inventory): "ung aultre tableau de la passion de Nostre Seigneur fecte de illymynure; . . . ledit tableau de bois de cypres."
22. Dürer (1520–21) 1993, p. 56.
23. Scaillièrez 1992, pp. 21–23, figs. 4–6.
24. Marrow 1984, figs. 1–4. Testa (1994, pp. 424–26) has suggested that the Brooklyn leaves might come from a Book of Hours in the collection of the duke of Norfolk at Arundel Castle, England.
25. Marrow 1984, fig. 8.
26. Dörnhöffer 1907, pls. 485, 488; Brussels 1962, pp. 37–40, no. 64; Marrow 1984, pp. 549, 550.
27. Pächt, Jenni, and Thoss 1983, pp. 86–95, pls. 154, 157, colorpl. 9b.
28. Dogaer 1987, pp. 171, 177.

29. Farquhar 1976, p. 61, fig. 61; Pächt, Jenni, and Thoss 1983, fig. 97.
30. De Winter 1981, fig. 19.
31. Pächt, Jenni, and Thoss 1983, fig. 99.
32. Dominguez Rodriguez 1979, fig. 8; Pächt, Jenni, and Thoss 1983, fig. 101.
33. Pächt and Alexander 1966-73, vol. 1, no. 396, pl. 31.
34. De Winter 1981, fig. 20; Euw and Plotzek 1979-85, vol. 2, pp. 256-85, no. ix 18, fig. 400.
35. Ainsworth, conversation with the author, July 1994. For the Croy Book of Hours, see Thoss 1986, pp. 131-45; Dogaer 1987, p. 166; and Thoss in Vienna 1987, pp. 117-18, no. 77.
36. Miegroet 1989, pp. 222, 297-98, no. 29, colorpl. 213.
37. Hulin de Loo 1931, p. 42; Schöne 1937, pp. 170-74; Van de Walle de Ghelcke 1952, pp. 402-6; Scillia 1975, pp. 165-73, 282, 286-87, figs. 31-33; Miegroet 1989, pp. 77-79, 326-27, no. 84, colorpls. 71-73.

Circle of Gerard David Bruges, ca. 1510

12. The Annunciation Miniature from a Breviary(?)

1975.I.2473

Verso: blank(?).

Tempera on parchment. 177 x 144 mm.

The leaf has been trimmed to the edge of the painted frame and glued to a thin, cream-colored board backing, but otherwise it is generally in excellent condition. There is some repainting in the lower right, some discoloration in the two lower corners, and a small abrasion along the right border. Small areas to the right of the bed and on the curtains to the left of the Virgin have been repaired, and a small spot of paint has flaked off the angel's nose.

PROVENANCE: [Leo S. Olschki, Florence(?)]. Acquired by Robert Lehman in Italy before 1927.¹

EXHIBITED: Baltimore 1949, no. 206, pl. 78 (as Flanders, early sixteenth century); Paris 1957, no. 164 (as Flanders [Bruges?], beginning of the sixteenth century); Cincinnati 1959, no. 344, ill. (as school of Simon Bening, early sixteenth century).

LITERATURE: Comstock 1927, pp. 50-53, 55, color ill. (as Ghent-Bruges school, late fifteenth century); De Ricci 1937, p. 1716 (as Flemish, in the manner of Gerard David, ca. 1490); Panofsky 1953, p. 376, n. 1 (as close to Gerard David); Scillia 1975 (as Gerard David); Wormald and Giles 1982, p. 272, under MS 294.

Panofsky has traced certain iconographic motifs in this *Annunciation* – its setting in a domestic interior, the Virgin kneeling, the angel Gabriel approaching in flight – to the Italian trecento. He credits Jacquemart de Hesdin, in the *Petites Heures* he illuminated for Jean, duke of Berry, in about 1380-85, with first posing the angel “pointing heavenward with an ecstatic gesture that was not to be forgotten for many generations.”² But this



Fig. 12.1 Master of the Older Prayer Book of Maximilian I, *The Annunciation*. Second Hours of Philip of Cleves, fol. 27v. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. s. n. 13239. Photograph: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek



No. 12



Fig. 12.2 Master of the Older Prayer Book of Maximilian I, *The Annunciation*. Breviary, fol. 427v. Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, 4240M



Fig. 12.3 Master of the Older Prayer Book of Maximilian I, *The Annunciation*. Book of Hours, fol. 41v. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. s. n. 2625. Photograph: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek

particular composition was most favored, with minor variations, by panel painters and illuminators working in Ghent and Bruges from about 1480 to 1530. One of the earliest of the many examples, and the closest to the Lehman leaf, is the *Annunciation* (Fig. 12.1) in the Second Hours of Philip of Cleves (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. s. n. 13239, fol. 27v).³ The coloration of the garments and the surroundings is the same, and the two compositions are nearly identical, from the pose of Gabriel, to the praying hands of the Virgin, to the architectural details of the room. Van Buren dated the Second Hours of Philip of Cleves to about 1480–85 and, following Lieftinck, attributed it to a group of illuminators working in the circle of the Master of Mary of Burgundy. He called the group the Ghent Associates after the residence of the members of the Burgundian court who were among their patrons.⁴ De Winter dated the Second Hours to about 1485 and included it in a list of manuscripts with miniatures by

the Master of the Older Prayer Book of Maximilian I, who is sometimes identified with the recorded illuminator Alexander Bening (active ca. 1469–1519; see Nos. 13, 14).⁵ The Master of the Older Prayer Book used this composition often, varying it in different ways. For example, in the *Annunciation* (Fig. 12.2) in the Breviary in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp (4240M, fol. 427v), which dates to approximately 1510, the Virgin and the angel are half-length figures,⁶ and in the version in a Book of Hours also dated about 1510 (Fig. 12.3) in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. s. n. 2625, fol. 41v), they are represented full length, though in reverse, and the hallway has been eliminated.⁷

The artist responsible for the Lehman *Annunciation* was not the Master of the Older Prayer Book of Maximilian I, however. The treatment of the figures most differentiates the two painters. The Master of the Older Prayer Book's figures have doll-like oval faces with

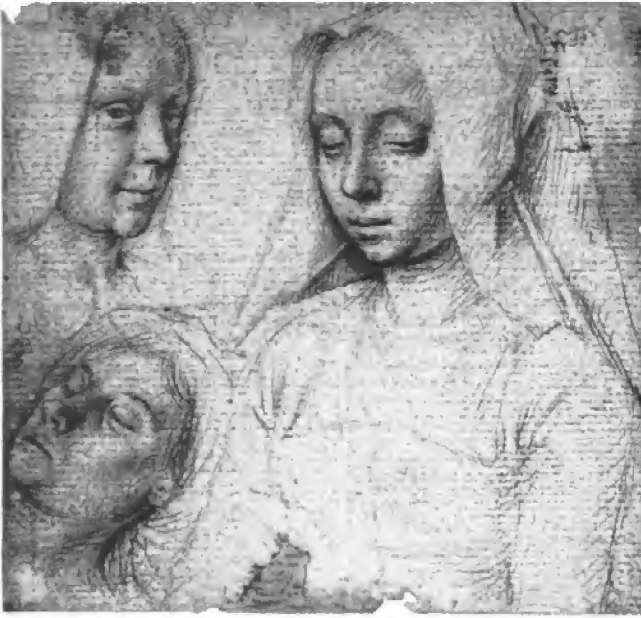


Fig. 12.4 Gerard David, *Study of Heads*. Muzeum Czartoryskich, Cracow, XV Rr 1970



Fig. 12.5 Gerard David, *Virgin Among Virgins*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.659



Fig. 12.6 Gerard David, *The Annunciation*. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 1095

eggshell-smooth skin, oval eyes, and graceful, elongated hands; those in the Lehman miniature have squarer faces, slightly puffy eyelids, irregular mouths with protruding lower lips, and shorter, almost stubby hands. The Master of the Older Prayer Book applied his pigment with an extremely fine brush, giving an even, polished finish to the final product, while the painter of the Lehman leaf built up his figures from a network of sketched lines that show through the transparent surface of the paint and are particularly apparent in the faces and hands.

Stylistically closer to the Lehman miniature are two works that have been accepted as being by Gerard David (see No. 11): a drawing of three female heads in the Muzeum Czartoryskich, Cracow,⁸ and a *Virgin Among Virgins*, a single miniature in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M.659).⁹ The draftsmanship in the drawing in Cracow (Fig. 12.4) and the Lehman *Annunciation* is similar, particularly in the modeling of the heads and garments. The figures in the Morgan *Virgin*



Fig. 12.7 Gerard David, *The Annunciation*. Croy Book of Hours, fol. 39v. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 1858. Photograph: Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek



Fig. 12.8 Simon Bening(?), *Adoration of the Magi*. Musée du Louvre, Paris, DL1973-18. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris

Among Virgins (Fig. 12.5) have the same square faces, puffy eyelids, protruding lower lips, and wispy hair as those in the *Lehman Annunciation*. Even the shifts in technique in different areas of the two works, for instance the polished foreground merging into a blurred background, are alike, and the miniatures are surrounded by identical frames composed of parallel lines painted in the same sequence of gold, light gold, gold, brown, gold, and brown.

The angel Gabriel's stance and the folds of his robe, Mary's pose (except for the gesture of her hands), and the placement of the bed in the *Lehman Annunciation* recur, in reverse, in a panel in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (Fig. 12.6),¹⁰ one of several paintings for which David adapted the model for the Annunciation composition that originated in the milieu of the Ghent Associates (see Fig. 12.1). The spatial construction (in reverse) and the color scheme of the miniature, as well as the angel's ringlets, are echoed in the *Annunciation* (Fig. 12.7) in the Croy Hours in the Österreichische

Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. 1858, fol. 39v), which Thoss has recently attributed to David and which is believed to date to the first decade of the fifteenth century.¹¹

The *Lehman Annunciation* must have been painted by an imitator of David who was active in Ghent or Bruges and was familiar with David's models and his technique but who obviously had difficulty placing the borrowed figures realistically in space, leaving them seeming to float in the composition. Like the *Morgan Virgin Among Virgins*, it probably dates to about 1510, at the height of David's artistic maturity and around the time he painted the *Virgin Among Virgins* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, which was completed in 1509 and is one of his two securely documented works.¹² In those years Simon Bening (see No. 13), who was profoundly influenced by David, and other illuminators of his generation were just beginning their careers.

Whether the *Lehman Annunciation* is a miniature from an illuminated manuscript or was intended as an inde-

pendent painting is impossible to determine from the physical evidence. The leaf is laid down on a thin board backing, so its verso cannot be examined, but even if the verso has no text the leaf could still be from a book, as many early fifteenth-century manuscripts have tipped-in miniatures. This miniature has been trimmed to look like a painting, however, and its large size reinforces that impression. We know from documentary evidence that independent miniatures executed on parchment, albeit usually mounted on wooden boards and framed, were produced during this period (see the discussion under No. 11), and Scaillièrez has called attention to surviving miniatures, most of them from the circle of Simon Bening, that she believes may have been intended as independent paintings.¹³ An *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 12.8) in the Louvre, Paris (DL1973-18), with its relatively large size (354 x 261 mm) and oddly square proportions, is a case in point.¹⁴ That such small independent paintings appear as props in the backgrounds of many miniatures of the period that depict scribes or illuminators (see Fig. 11.7) lends credence to Scaillièrez's hypothesis.

Most of the independent or freestanding miniatures described in the documents or reproduced in illuminations depict devotional images such as the Virgin and Child or the Holy Face, however, rather than narrative subjects like the Adoration of the Magi or the Annunciation.¹⁵ Although the Lehman picture, like the Louvre *Adoration of the Magi*, is both too large and too square to be easily accommodated in a Book of Hours, it would have fit nicely into the format of a grand Breviary. Large-scale Breviaries seem to have been in fashion between about 1510, when the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary was made, and 1520, the date of the famous Grimani Breviary in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (Lat. xi 67[7531]).¹⁶ The tonality of the miniatures in the Grimani Breviary that have been ascribed, problematically, to Gerard Horenbout (ca. 1465–ca. 1540) is similar to that of the Lehman miniature, especially the salmon pink shades of the street scene visible through the doorway that is the focal point of the tunnel-like perspective.¹⁷ Most of the miniatures in both the Grimani and the Van den Bergh Breviaries (see Fig. 12.2) have gold and brown painted frames much like that on the Lehman *Annunciation*. If this miniature is from such a book, it probably had a trompe-l'oeil border that has been trimmed away. The miniatures in these large-scale manuscripts owe a great debt to panel painting, and especially to the artistic traditions of Gerard David, to whom many of their compositions pay tribute. Like the

Lehman miniature, they bear witness to the respect and appreciation David achieved in his own lifetime.

NOTES:

1. De Ricci (1937, p. 1716) reported that Robert Lehman obtained this miniature in Italy, and a note in the Robert Lehman Collection files says that it was "purchased of Olschki, Florence," but the information has not been otherwise verified. The leaf was in Robert Lehman's possession at least by 1927, when Comstock included it in her article on his collection of miniatures.
2. Panofsky 1953, p. 43, and see also pp. 23, 366, n. 2.
3. Lieftinck 1969, pp. 165–70, figs. 284–86. The composition appeared somewhat earlier in the so-called First Hours of William Lord Hastings (Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid, ms 15503, fol. 73v), which Kren (Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 21, 27, 29–30, n. 8, fig. 3g) attributes to an artist in the circle of the Master of Mary of Burgundy and dates to the mid- to late 1470s.
4. Van Buren 1975, pp. 291, 307.
5. De Winter 1981, pp. 355–67, 424, n. 20.
6. Michel 1924; Gaspar 1932, p. 65, pl. 44; De Winter 1981, p. 424, n. 20; Saint Petersburg–Florence 1996, pp. 49–113, no. 1, colorpl. p. 92; Nieuwdorp and Dekeyser 1997.
7. De Winter 1981, p. 424, n. 20; Thoss in Vienna 1987, pp. 114–16, no. 75, pl. 97.
8. Miegroet 1989, pp. 322–23, no. 75F, ill.
9. Detroit 1960, p. 399, no. 212, ill.; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 46, 47, fig. 5f; Miegroet 1989, pp. 87, 328, no. 86, colorpl. 78.
10. Miegroet 1989, pp. 217–19, 221, 296, no. 26, colorpl. 210; Sander 1993, pp. 233–43, colorpl. 16. Compare also David's paintings of the Annunciation in the Saint Louis Museum of Art (Ainsworth and Faries 1986, pp. 14–15, ill.; Miegroet 1989, pp. 217–19, 221, 296, no. 27, colorpl. 209) and the Detroit Institute of Arts (Miegroet 1989, pp. 57, 280, no. 8, colorpl. 36).
11. Thoss 1986, p. 132; Dogaer 1987, p. 166; Thoss in Vienna 1987, pp. 117–18, no. 77, colorpl. 19; Miegroet 1989, pp. 88, 329, no. 88, colorpl. 79.
12. Miegroet 1989, pp. 222, 297–98, no. 29, colorpl. 213.
13. Scaillièrez 1992, pp. 16–22.
14. Bruges 1902, no. 246 (as follower of Gerard David); Scaillièrez 1992, p. 20, n. 13, fig. 4 (as anonymous Ghent–Bruges artist [Simon Bening?]).
15. Exceptions include *The Penitence of Saint Jerome* in the Escorial, Madrid, a triptych on parchment mounted on wood that Scaillièrez (1992, pp. 18–19, fig. 3 [color]) has attributed to an "anonymous Ghent–Bruges artist (Simon Bening?)," and a single (independent?) miniature, *The Flight into Egypt*, in the Bernard Breslauer collection, New York (New York 1992–93, p. 104, no. 27, ill.).
16. Salmi 1974. According to De Winter (1981, figs. 33, 36), the Antwerp Breviary measures 224 by 160 millimeters, the Grimani Breviary, 280 by 215 millimeters.
17. See, for example, Salmi 1974, pl. 44. For a review of the debate about whether or not Horenbout was one of the three illuminators of the Grimani Breviary, see Kren in Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 122, n. 25.

Simon Bening

Ghent or Antwerp(?) ca. 1483–Bruges 1561

Simon Bening became one of the most famous illuminators of the sixteenth century. He was born in about 1483 in Ghent or Antwerp, and he probably spent the early years of his career working with his father, the illuminator Alexander Bening (active ca. 1469, d. 1518), and traveling to Bruges to sell his miniatures. He joined the guild of Saint John and Saint Luke in Bruges as an illuminator in 1508 but did not pay his entrance fees until 1516, and even then sent the money with the scribe Antonius van Damme (with whom he collaborated on at least three manuscripts in the 1530s and 1540s).¹ He moved permanently to Bruges a year or two later; from 1517 until 1555 his name appears regularly in the annual accounts of the guild (in 1522 as the donor, in lieu of his fees, of a large miniature of the Crucifixion to decorate a Missal, with another of his collaborators, the binder Louis de Bloc, being present on the occasion).² He served as dean of the guild three times, in 1524, 1536, and 1546. Bening married twice and had six children, all girls, two of whom entered the family business: Alexandrine Claeiszuene became a successful art dealer, and Levina Teerlinck was a distinguished miniaturist at the English court during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I.³

Although Bening was much admired in his day and widely imitated, his artistic personality has yet to be thoroughly explored. Vasari and Guicciardini, both contemporaries of his, used the same adjective to describe his painting: "eccellenti."⁴ Yet when Weale outlined Bening's biography in 1864 he knew of only one surviving work by him, the *Genealogy of the Infante Dom Fernando of Portugal* (British Library, London, Add. MS 12531), which was commissioned in 1530 and remained unfinished when Dom Fernando died in 1534.⁵ Since then a great many works have been attributed to Simon Bening or his workshop, but the five leaves he illuminated in the *Genealogy*, for which he painted over drawings by the Portuguese artist Antonio de Hollanda, remain the most securely documented. (Documents have come to light describing other commissions Bening received from the Portuguese royalty, but none of those works can be definitively identified.)⁶

In 1871 Weale himself discovered a *Crucifixion* signed by Simon Bening in a Missal that was made in 1530 for the town hall at Diksmuide in Belgium. (The Missal was unfortunately destroyed in World War I.)⁷ A prayer

book that has a colophon dated 1511 in Antwerp and was probably made there for a Nuremberg merchant, most likely Hans Imhof, is the earliest work attributed to Bening.⁸ The latest are two self-portraits, both signed and dated 1558 (No. 14 and Victoria and Albert Museum, London, P.159-1910).⁹ A good share of the other illuminations that now make up his oeuvre are dated or datable to the 1520s, apparently the most productive period of his career, when he must have headed a large and flourishing workshop.

NOTES:

1. A Book of Hours dated 1531 and signed by Antonius van Damme (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.451; New York 1933–34, pp. 63–64, no. 135, pls. 90C–D); a Book of Hours made in 1539 for Mencia de Mendoza, consort of Henry III of Nassau (perhaps Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid; see Steppe 1969); and a rosary prayer book in Spanish, dated 1545 (private collection, Belgium; sale, Christie's, London, 10 March 1976, lot 203, color frontis.). See also No. 14, note 26.
2. Two of the manuscripts Simon Bening illuminated have signed bindings by Louis de Bloc (or Ludovicus Bloc; active 1484, d. 1529): a Benedictional of Robert de Clercq that is datable between about 1520 and 1529 (University Library, Cambridge, Nn.4.1; Cambridge 1993, pp. 134–35, no. 42, color ill. p. 110 [fols. 45v–46r, 79v–80r]; and see also p. 84, no. 25) and a Book of Hours made for Joanna of Ghisteltes that is datable before 1529 (British Library, London, Egerton MS 2125; see No. 13, note 37).
3. For the documents on Bening's life, see Weale 1864–65, pp. 306–19, and Weale 1906. On his oeuvre, see Winkler (1925) 1978, pp. 139–40; Wescher 1946; Biermann 1975; Marrow 1984; Dogaer 1987, pp. 171–77; and De Hamel in Sotheby's sale 1988, lot 65. On Levina Teerlinck, see also No. 14.
4. Guicciardini (1567) 1588, p. 151, and Vasari (1568), 1878–85, vol. 7, p. 587; both quoted in Weale 1863, pp. 223–24.
5. Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 69–78, no. 9, figs. 9b–e, colorpls. 11, 12. Weale knew of eleven leaves in 1864, and the British Library acquired two more in 1868. Bening illuminated fols. 2, 4, 5, 5*, and 10.
6. These include the Book of Hours for Mencia de Mendoza (see note 1 above); six paintings, perhaps small portraits, also commissioned by Mencia de Mendoza (present location unknown; see Dogaer 1987, p. 171); and a Book of Hours reportedly sent in 1544 to Queen Catherine of Portugal, wife of John III (see Kren in Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 85, n. 14; according to Kren, Dos Santos [1930, pp. 26–27, pl. 33] identified this manuscript with a Book of Hours illuminated by Bening in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon).
7. Weale 1872–73, pp. 118–19; Weale 1906, ill. p. 357; Durrieu 1921, pp. 67–68, pl. 88.
8. Sotheby's sale 1988, lot 107. Lieftinck was the first to publish the manuscript, in 1957.
9. See No. 14, note 2.

Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant
Bruges, probably 1522–23

13. Pietà

Leaf from the Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg

1975.I.2481

Recto: blank(?).

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 188 x 133 mm, miniature with border 176 x 123 mm, miniature only 137 x 90 mm. On the verso of the parchment mount: in the center, a painted medallion with the arms of Frederick, fourth marquess of Londonderry, and inscribed *FREDERICH MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY ROMA MDCCCLVI*.

The colors are bright and fresh, and the miniature is in an excellent state of preservation. The parchment leaf has been trimmed, then glued down on cardboard, the back of which has been glued to another piece of parchment. In 1984 glue residues on the upper right edge were removed by local application of moisture in the Paper Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum, and it was decided not to remove the leaf from its backing, as the glue appears to have caused no damage. No writing can be made out on the back of the leaf.¹

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545); possibly private collection, the Netherlands;² Frederick, fourth marquess of Londonderry (purchased in Rome in 1856); Captain G. Pitt-Rivers, Manor House, Hinton Saint Mary, Dorset (Pitt-Rivers sale 1929, lot 130); [A. Horace Buttery, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Buttery in 1929.

EXHIBITED: Baltimore 1949, no. 207 (as Ghent, ca. 1515); Paris 1957, no. 165 (as Ghent or Bruges, ca. 1515); Cincinnati 1959, no. 342, ill. (as Simon Bening).

LITERATURE: *Christie's Season* 1929, pp. 54–55, ill.; De Ricci 1937, pp. 1716–17 (as from a Book of Hours written in Flanders, ca. 1500; very close in style to Simon Bening); Winkler 1962, pp. 11, 22, n. 4; Biermann 1975, pp. 25, 266, n. 101; Boon 1978, p. 16, under no. 30; Wormald and Giles 1982, p. 271; Testa 1986a, p. 44, n. 7; Sotheby's sale 1988, under lots 65, 106; Leesti 1991, pp. 118–19, 124, n. 1, 125, n. 24; Testa 1992b, pp. 75, n. 6, 77, n. 35.

This miniature belongs to a set of leaves acquired in 1856 by Frederick, fourth marquess of Londonderry, whose seal is painted on the parchment backing glued to each of the leaves. Five miniatures from the set – *The Crucifixion*, *The Annunciation*, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, *The Last Judgment*, and *The Assumption of the Virgin* – were owned in the early twentieth century by the Reverend E. S. Dewick and were acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS 294a–e), in 1918.³ Eleven other leaves became the property of

Captain G. Pitt-Rivers and were sold in a single lot at Christie's in 1929 to the London art dealer A. Horace Buttery, who in turn sold them to various collectors between 1929 and 1963.⁴ In 1929 Robert Lehman bought this *Pietà* and a *Saint Bridget*, the present location of which is unknown.⁵ In 1937 H. A. Noble of Pittsburgh bought a *Saint Gertrude of Nivelles* that is now in the Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh (64.11.6).⁶ In 1945 H. M. Calmann of London bought six leaves⁷ that have since been dispersed: *A Cardinal*, *Owner of the Book* (present location unknown), *Saint John the Baptist* (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, 1950:257),⁸ *Saint Francis* (present location unknown), *Saint Margaret* (private collection, Germany),⁹ *Saint Odilia* (private collection, London),¹⁰ and *The Circumcision* (private collection, Germany).¹¹ P. de Boer of Amsterdam bought a *Christ Before Caiaphas* in 1956 that is now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NMB 1699).¹² Buttery eventually sold the eleventh leaf, a *Crucifixion with Mary and John*, to Maggs Brothers of London, through whom Phyllis Giles bought it in 1963. A *Saint Jerome* now in a private collection also has the Londonderry cipher, its dimensions match those of the original group of sixteen, and it is painted in the same style with similar borders;¹³ it is possible, however, that this is the same leaf as the *Cardinal* that Calmann purchased in 1945 (which has never been reproduced).

In 1982, in their discussion of the five miniatures in the Fitzwilliam, Wormald and Giles proposed that the set of leaves is from the richly illuminated two-volume Book of Hours that belonged to Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545), archbishop and elector of Mainz, who was made cardinal in 1518.¹⁴ Albrecht, statesman, scholar, and avid collector of art, was a patron of Dürer, Grünewald, Cranach, and the German illuminator Nikolaus Glockenden. In the 1520s he retained an agent, Hans Schenitz, to commission and purchase works of art for him. It was presumably Schenitz who sought out Simon Bening in Bruges, where he was developing a reputation as one of the most talented miniature painters of his day, and commissioned him to illuminate the Book of Hours that bears Albrecht's name.¹⁵ During the 1520s and 1530s the cardinal also ordered at least two other manuscripts from Bening: a small Passion prayer book now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Ludwig IX.19), that is signed with the artist's initials on folio 33v and must date to sometime between 1522 and 1530,¹⁶ and a Book of Hours probably from the 1530s in the Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm (A227), fragments of



No. 13, verso



Figs. 13.1 and 13.2 Workshop of Simon Bening, *Arms of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg* (left) and *Confession of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg* (right), *Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg*, vol. 1, fol. 1v, vol. 2, fol. 123. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40



No. 13, shield painted on the parchment mount

which survive in the Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt, Kassel (Math. et art. 50).¹⁷

The Brandenburg Hours opens with a full-page miniature of the cardinal's coat of arms (Fig. 13.1), and the cardinal himself may appear in three other half-page miniatures (on fol. 22 [Moon] of volume 1 and fols. 123 [A Confession] and 288v [Man of Sorrows] of volume 2). The illumination of the Hours has been attributed to Simon Bening since Winkler first tentatively ascribed it to him in 1925.¹⁸ The manuscript is dated to 1522–23 because the arms of Adrian VI, who was pope from 9 January 1522 to 14 September 1523, appear in the background of the miniature on folio 123 of volume 2 (Fig. 13.2), undoubtedly to commemorate the election of Bening's countryman to the papal office. The deluxe manuscript was eventually owned by William Waldorf Astor, first viscount Astor (1848–1919), and then by his heirs and was rediscovered only after it became part of the Astor Deposit at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1965. It was sold at Sotheby's in 1988 and appeared in catalogues of the art dealer Heribert Tenschert, Rottahalmünster, in 1989.¹⁹ It is now in the Bibliotheca



Fig. 13.3 Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *The Annunciation*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 294b

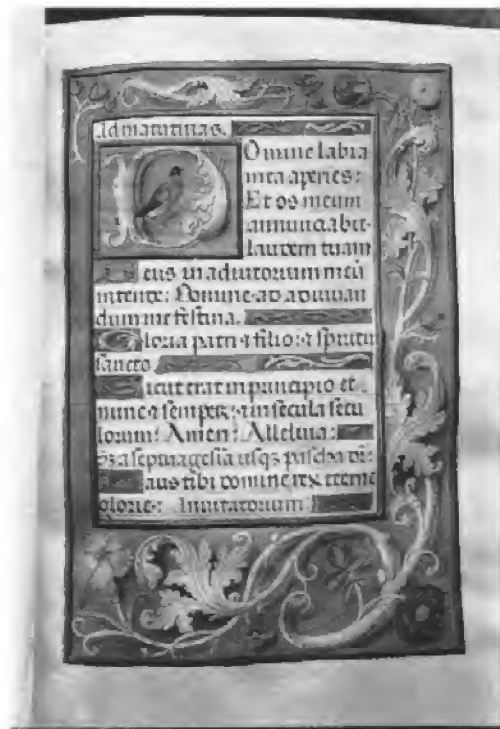


Fig. 13.4 Matins of Hours of the Virgin, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 1, fol. 34. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40

Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam (BPH 40). Because the manuscript was not readily accessible, until now it has been impossible to determine conclusively whether the Londonderry leaves, one of the two largest and most important coherent groups of detached leaves attributed to Simon Bening and his atelier, are actually *membra disiecta* from the Brandenburg Hours.²⁰ With Lord Astor's kind permission I was able to examine the manuscript in 1987 and to confirm that the Londonderry leaves were indeed removed from it.

The two-volume manuscript has been bound in an eighteenth-century Dutch binding that was repaired in the nineteenth century.²¹ As it is now constituted it has 592 folios, numbered 1–294 in volume 1 and 1–298 in volume 2 in a modern hand. The manuscript is constructed primarily of quaternions and the text is complete, although in some places the quires have been bound out of order.²² A contemporary table of contents (on fols. 291–98 of volume 2), an unusual feature in a Book of Hours, facilitates verification of the contents. The only full-page miniature in the book is the heraldic frontispiece (Fig. 13.1), which is tipped in to the first regular quaternion. There are fifty-one large miniatures,

each in an arched compartment above six lines of text, the compartments surrounded by fully illuminated borders, and an additional seventy-two broad illuminated borders (forty-two of them historiated, the other thirty with decorative arrangements of flowers and other ornaments), each surrounding a seventeen-line block of text. Twenty-four of the broad borders occur in the nineteen folios of the Calendar that opens the book (five of the nineteen leaves have historiated borders surrounding the text on both the recto and verso). Stubs or scoring marks confirm that pages have been excised opposite most of the other forty-eight bordered text pages, the exceptions being six leaves in the Hours of the Virgin in volume 1.²³ As many as forty-two leaves – all with full-page miniatures, as the text is complete – may therefore have been removed from the manuscript.

Each of the Londonderry leaves, including the Lehman *Pietà*, which must have introduced the Hours of the Compassion of the Virgin, can be placed at a particular juncture in the Brandenburg Hours.²⁴ The borders on many of the leaves correspond with the borders on the pages they would originally have faced in the manuscript. The instruments of the Passion are arranged in a



Fig. 13.5 Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *The Crucifixion*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 294a

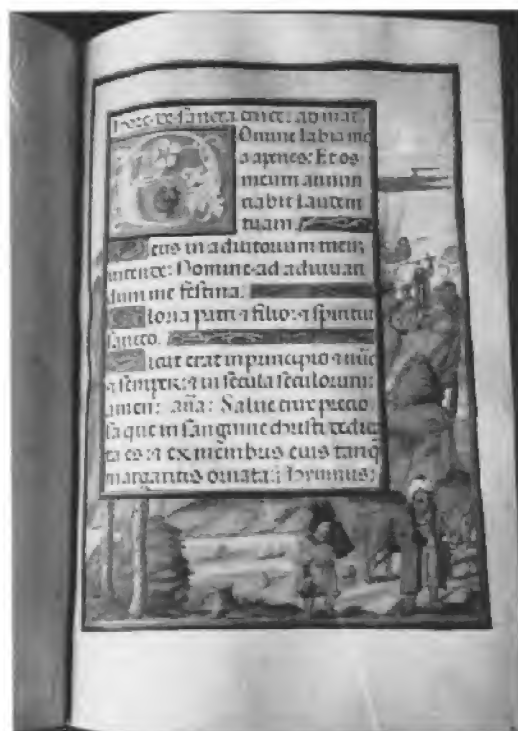


Fig. 13.6 Matins of Hours of the Cross, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 1, fol. 90. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40

well-balanced trompe-l'oeil design that spreads across the borders of the *Crucifixion with Mary and John* and the opening page of the *Plactus Virgin Mary* (Figs. 13.10, 13.11). The borders of both the *Saint John the Baptist* and the page that once faced it are filled with trompe-l'oeil cabalistic letters composed of pearls on a tan ground (Figs. 13.12, 13.13). Marguerites and other flowers strewn on a tan ground decorate the borders of the *Saint Margaret* and its facing page. Some pages decorated with floral borders, such as the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 13.5) and *Saint Jerome*, would have faced related historiated borders in the manuscript (Fig. 13.6). Sometimes a pictorial narrative extends the story of the main miniature into the surrounding spaces of the margins of the double-page spread. Scenes from the saint's life fill the border surrounding the *Saint Gertrude* and the border on the facing page (Figs. 13.14, 13.15). Around the miniature *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* are scenes of Mary's infancy, while on what would have been the right-hand page (Figs. 13.16, 13.17) a small child accompanies her parents to a jeweler's store. In the border of the *Saint Odilia* (Fig. 13.18) two men carry a bunch of grapes on a pole (a prefiguration of Christ on the



Fig. 13.7 Hours of the Compassion of the Virgin, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 1, fol. 104. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40



Fig. 13.8 (left) Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *Christ Before Caiaphas*. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMB 1699. Photograph: Statens Konstmuseer Fig. 13.9 (right) Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *The Last Judgment*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 294d



Fig. 13.10 (left) Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *The Crucifixion with Mary and John*. Private collection, England. Reproduced from *Christie's Season* (London, 1929), p. 55, courtesy of Christie's Images, London Fig. 13.11 (right) *Placitus Virgin Mary*, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 1, fol. 271. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40



Fig. 13.12 (left) Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *Saint John the Baptist*. Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1950:257 Fig. 13.13 (right) Suffrage to Saint John the Baptist, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 2, fol. 7. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40



Fig. 13.14 (left) Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *Saint Gertrude of Nivelles*. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Bequest of Howard A. Noble, 64.11.6. Photograph copyright Bachrach Fig. 13.15 (right) Suffrage to Saint Gertrude of Nivelles, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 2, fol. 85. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40



Fig. 13.16 (left) Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 294c Fig. 13.17 (right) Suffrage to Saint Anne, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 2, fol. 92. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40



Fig. 13.18 (left) Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *Saint Odilia*. Private collection, London. Photograph: A. C. Cooper, courtesy of Christie's Images, London Fig. 13.19 (right) Suffrage to Saint Odilia, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 2, fol. 99. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40



Fig. 13.20 Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *The Circumcision*. Private collection, Germany. Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, London

cross and a reference to the spies whom Moses sent to the land of Canaan and who brought back "a branch with its cluster of grapes, which two men carried upon a lever" [Numbers 13:24], and in the border of the Suffrage on the facing page (Fig. 13.19) two men harvest grapes.

Bening used analogous systems of illumination in other manuscripts in the 1520s, for example the reintegrated Kassel-Stockholm Hours²⁵ and the fragmentary Book of Hours in the collection of the duke of Norfolk at Arundel Castle in Sussex, England.²⁶ That the borders on facing pages do not always match also has precedents in other manuscripts attributed to Bening from this period. The historiated border on the Lehman *Pietà*, with "Noli me tangere" in the foreground and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre in the center left margin, does not match the facing border, a series of cabalistic letters in gray on a brownish red ground (Fig. 13.7), but the foliated initial on the text page, composed of brown acanthus leaves on a pink ground, picks up the colors of the scene surrounding the miniature.

The main figural grouping in the Lehman *Pietà* harks back to models already current in the 1480s in works



Fig. 13.21 (left) Simon Bening, with borders by an assistant, *The Assumption of the Virgin*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 294e Fig. 13.22 (right) Prayer at the Assumption of the Virgin, with border decoration by an assistant to Simon Bening. Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg, vol. 2, fol. 115. Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, Amsterdam, BPH 40



Fig. 13.23 Workshop of Gerard David, *The Deposition*. National Gallery, London, NG1078. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery



Fig. 13.24 Simon Bening, *The Lamentation and The Entombment*. Beatty Rosarium, fol. 40. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, w99. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library

attributed to the Master of Mary of Burgundy and the Master of the Older Prayer Book of Maximilian I, both of whom have been identified with Alexander Bening, Simon's father.²⁷ The composition occurs also in paintings by Gerard David (see No. 11) and his atelier, such as the *Deposition* in the University Art Museum, University of California, Santa Barbara,²⁸ and the *Deposition* in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 13.23).²⁹ Simon Bening himself used this same basic composition, with variations, many times throughout his career. It occurs, for example, in the Beatty Rosarium (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, w99, fol. 40; Fig. 13.24),³⁰ the Passion Prayer Book of Albrecht of Brandenburg in the Getty Museum,³¹ the Stein quadriptych in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery, w.442; with half-length figures),³² the *Hor-tulus animae* in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2706, fol. 338v),³³ and two Books of Hours, one in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23637, fol. 111v),³⁴ the other at Waddesdon Manor (MS 26, fol. 185v).³⁵

The Lehman *Pietà* is closest, however, to the illumination of the Book of Hours made for Joanna of Ghi-

stelles most likely in 1516, the year she turned seventeen and the year she was named abbess of Messines, near Ypres (British Library, London, Egerton MS 2125).³⁶ The *Pietà* in the Ghistelles Hours (fol. 154v; Fig. 13.25), which also illustrates the opening of the Hours of the Compassion of the Virgin,³⁷ is a variant of the Lehman miniature, even including such details as the upright of the cross and the barren mountain directly behind the figures. The historiated border surrounding the text of the Prayer at the Resurrection in the London book (fol. 171; Fig. 13.26) depicts the same scenes, in much the same colors and with the figures in similar poses, as the border on the Lehman *Pietà*, except that the three Marys at the tomb are in the foreground and Christ and Mary Magdalen are in the middle distance, and because the text page is a recto the narrative scenes are in the right, rather than the left, margin. Even certain details of the landscape, like the two tree trunks in the bottom margin, are repeated in both borders.

Subtle differences in style between the border and the miniature on the Lehman leaf raise the possibility that the border is by an assistant. De Hamel, with the help



Fig. 13.25 Simon Bening, *Pietà*. Hours of Joanna of Ghisteltes, fol. 154v. British Library, London, Egerton MS 2125. By permission of the British Library

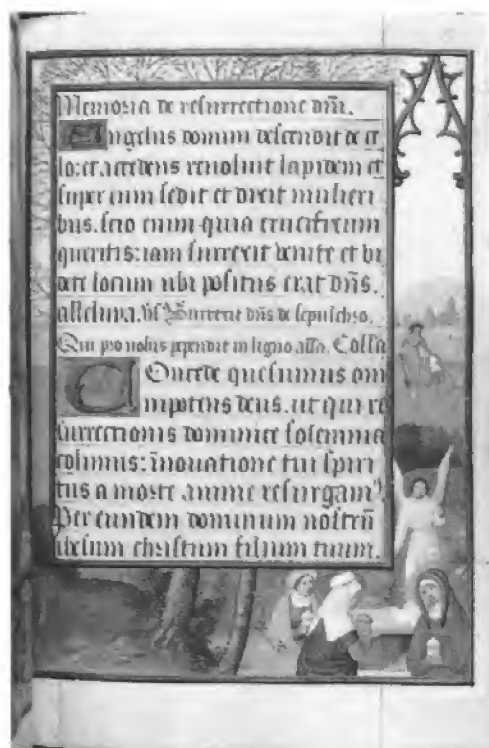


Fig. 13.26 Prayer at the Resurrection. Hours of Joanna of Ghisteltes, fol. 171. British Library, London, Egerton MS 2125. By permission of the British Library

of Bodo Brinkmann of the Städelches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie in Frankfurt am Main, has attributed eight of the fifty-one large miniatures in the Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg and all the borders, including those on the miniatures painted by Bening himself, to two different artists.³⁸ According to De Hamel, the first collaborator painted the full-page heraldic miniature that opens the book, seven of the large miniatures, and thirty-five of the historiated borders, including all twenty-four of the Calendar scenes on folios 2–19v. He was a skilled landscapist and an accomplished colorist, but his figures, often in animated poses, are of squatter proportions and have somewhat coarser features than Bening's. The second collaborator painted one of the large miniatures, all the rest of the historiated borders, and probably some of the nonfigurative borders as well. The styles of both assistants occur in the Londonderry leaves. The first assistant probably executed the border on the Lehman leaf, using patterns from Bening. The stocky figures, sometimes with garish features, of the second assistant are recognizable in the borders of *Saint Gertrude*, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, and *Saint Odilia*

(Figs. 13.14, 13.16, 13.18). Bening worked with assistants on others of his productions, among them a Book of Hours from about 1530 in the Hofbibliothek, Aschaffenburg (MS 9), that has borders illuminated by a German artist.³⁹

With their date now fixed at 1522–23, the Londonderry leaves join an ever-expanding group of dated works by Simon Bening and his workshop. On the basis of these works, it is becoming possible to adduce a coherent chronology for Bening that leads from the prototypes of the 1480s, through the several works that can be assigned to the 1520s, to the work he produced between 1540 and 1561, the year of his death.⁴⁰

NOTES:

1. Other leaves from the same book – two of the leaves in Cambridge, the leaf in Amsterdam, and the leaf in Stockholm (see notes 3, 8, and 12 below) – were found to be blank on one side when their backings were removed.
2. According to De Hamel (Sotheby's sale 1988, lot 65), the gold clasps on volume 1 of the Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg bear the mark of the maker, Johannes van Leuven (1712–1782) of Amsterdam, and the date 1758, and the

- clasps on volume 2 have on the hinge the tiny ax that was the Dutch control mark from 1852 to 1927. The volumes were thus probably in the Netherlands from at least 1758 to 1852, and it could be that the entire manuscript was on the market in Rome in 1856 when the marquess of Londonderry bought the detached miniatures from it.
3. London 1953–54, p. 165, no. 620; Wormald and Giles 1982, pp. 270–73, pl. 82 (*The Crucifixion*); Dogaer 1987, p. 177; Cambridge 1993, p. 94, no. 31, ill. p. 95, color-pls. pp. 104–5. Reverend Dewick exhibited the leaves at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1908 (London 1908, p. 55, no. 120).
 4. Pitt-Rivers sale 1929, lot 130 (as fifteenth-century French illuminations from a Missal). Four of the leaves (*Saint John the Baptist*, *The Crucifixion with Mary and John*, *The Circumcision*, and the *Pietà*) were illustrated in *Christie's Season* for 1929 (pp. 54–55). De Ricci (1937, pp. 1716–17) recorded the subjects of the nine leaves Buttery owned in addition to the *Pietà* and *Saint Bridget* as “St. Francis receiving the stigmata, St. Ottilia, St. Gertrude of Nivelles, St. Margaret, St. John the Baptist, the Circumcision, Christ before Pilate, the Crucifixion, a kneeling prelate” (see also note 14 below).
 5. See De Ricci 1937, pp. 1716–17.
 6. Pittsburgh 1953, no. 20; Winkler 1962, pp. 7–22, especially p. 12, pl. 5; Peterson and Stones 1989, pp. 32–33, color ill.
 7. Calmann's purchase is referred to in a letter of 24 May 1963 in the files of the Fitzwilliam Museum from F. St. J. Gore of the National Trust to Phyllis Giles. The letter says as well that H. Benn also bought one of the leaves in 1947, but does not identify the subject.
 8. Boon 1978, vol. 1, p. 16, no. 30, vol. 2, p. 15, ill.
 9. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 11 July 1960, lot 41b. I thank Christopher de Hamel for his assistance in locating many of the miniatures from this group.
 10. Ibid., lot 41a; sale, A. G. Thomas, Bournemouth, England, [1961], lot 17. In both catalogues the saint is wrongly identified as Clare.
 11. Sotheby's sale 1988, lot 106.
 12. Nordenfalk 1979, no. 26, pl. 131 (as Simon Bening, ca. 1510).
 13. A. Korner, letter to the author, 1995. Two other miniatures bearing the Londonderry cipher are not from the same manuscript: a *Deposition* in a private German collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, 13 July 1977, lot 17, ill. [as Naples (though “not necessarily by an Italian since the Flemish influence is very strong”), sixteenth century]; Cologne 1987, no. 78) and a *Saint Sebald of Nuremberg* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal (55.1370; Montreal 1965, no. 22 [incorrectly described as depicting Saint James the Major]; Wormald and Giles 1982, p. 271; Montreal 1987, no. 29; Leesti 1991).
 14. Wormald and Giles 1982, p. 271. Sydney C. Cockerell had made the same suggestion in a letter to Horace Buttery of 25 April 1929 (files of the Fitzwilliam Museum), in which he also identified the subjects of the leaves Buttery had purchased that year. For the Brandenburg Hours, see Ellis and Weale [1883]; Middleton 1892, p. 167; Weale 1895, p. 70; Bradley 1905, p. 321; Herbert 1911, p. 206; Winkler (1925) 1978, pp. 140, 209; Biermann 1968–69; Hurt 1973, p. 45, n. 11; Biermann 1975, pp. 44–47, figs. 24–30; Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, vol. 2, pp. 278, 299; Plotzek 1980, p. 18; Marrow 1984, p. 540, n. 16; H. Wolf 1985, figs. 46–48; Testa 1986a, p. 44, n. 7; Dogaer 1987, pp. 172, 177; and Mainz 1990, pp. 189–92, no. 82, pls. 18, 19.
 15. See Biermann 1975, pp. 16, 44–47, and De Hamel in Sotheby's sale 1988, lot 65, pp. 84, 86.
 16. Biermann 1975, especially pp. 21ff; Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, vol. 2, pp. 286–313, figs. 469–542; Marrow 1984, pp. 539–40.
 17. Durrieu 1921, pls. 94, 95; Winkler (1925) 1978, pl. 73; Hopf and Struck 1930, pp. 64–76, no. 5; Winkler 1962, p. 11, fig. 4; Testa 1992b.
 18. Winkler (1925) 1978, pp. 140, 209 (as “S. Bening[?]”).
 19. Sotheby's sale 1988, lot 65; König and Tenschert 1989, pp. 270–77, no. 44, ill.
 20. Only the Stein quadriptych (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, w.442; see Kupfer-Tarasulo 1979), the parent manuscript of which has still not been identified, is larger. Winkler ([1925] 1978, p. 139; quoted in Testa 1992b, n. 3) said that in 1925 there were more detached miniatures attributable to Simon Bening than to any other illuminator, and that is still true today. See also Marrow 1984, Hindman 1989, Testa 1991, Testa 1992a, Testa 1992b, and Testa 1994.
 21. See note 2 above.
 22. De Hamel (Sotheby's sale 1988, lot 65, p. 84) gives the collation as volume 1: $1^1 + 8 + 2 - 15^8 + 16^6 + 1 + 17 - 36^8 + 37^6$; volume 2: $1 - 36^8 + 37^2 + 38^8$. The most striking example of leaves bound out of order occurs in volume 2, where the Suffrages to Christopher, Laurence, and Denis (now fols. 26, 29, 32) should follow those to John, Mark, Luke, Sebastian, Vincent, Blaise, Valentine, George, Erasmus, Vitus, and the Ten Thousand Martyrs (now fols. 33–48).
 23. It seems that only Matins of the Hours of the Virgin opened with a full-page miniature opposite a text page with an illuminated border. There are no stubs or cutting marks at the opening pages of Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, Vespers, and Compline, all of which have decorative borders, and the opening page of None has no border.
 24. The Londonderry leaves and the miniatures that are still missing were probably inserted as follows:

full-page miniature / text with border	folio in present ms
Volume 1	
Arms of Albrecht of Brandenburg (Fig. 13.1)	iv
Calendar	2
<i>Annunciation</i> (Fig. 13.3)	[after 33]
Hours of the Virgin, Matins (Fig. 13.4)	34
<i>Crucifixion</i> (Fig. 13.5)	[after 89]
Hours of the Cross, Matins (Fig. 13.6)	90
missing miniature	[after 97]
Hours of the Holy Spirit	98

<i>Pietà</i> (No. 13)	[after 103]	missing miniature	[after 69]
Hours of the Compassion of the Virgin (Fig. 13.7)	104	Suffrage to Saint Wolfgang	70
missing miniature	[after 106]	missing miniature	[after 73]
Cursus of Saint Bonaventure on the Passion	107	Suffrage to Saint Nicholas	74
<i>Christ Before Caiaphas</i> (Fig. 13.8)	[after 159(?)]	<i>Saint Bridget</i>	[after 77]
Passion According to Saint Matthew	160	Suffrage to Saint Bridget	78
missing miniature	[after 173]	<i>Saint Gertrude of Nivelles</i> (Fig. 13.14)	[after 84]
Passion According to Saint Mark	174	Suffrage to Saint Gertrude (Fig. 13.15)	85
<i>Last Judgment</i> (Fig. 13.9)	[after 208]	<i>Saint Margaret</i>	[after 86]
Seven Penitential Psalms	209	Suffrage to Saint Margaret	87
<i>A Cardinal, Owner of the Book</i>	[after 234(?)]	missing miniature	[after 88]
Prayers at Confession	235	Suffrage to Saint Mary Magdalen	89
missing miniature	[after 238]	<i>Virgin and Child with Saint Anne</i>	[after 91]
Prayer to one's guardian angel ("Cum mane surgis")	239	(Fig. 13.16)	
missing miniature	[after 268]	Suffrage to Saint Anne (Fig. 13.17)	92
Seven Sorrows of the Virgin	269	missing miniature	[after 92]
<i>Crucifixion with Mary and John</i> (Fig. 13.10)	[after 270]	Suffrage to Saint Ursula	93
Planctus Virgin Mary (Fig. 13.11)	271	missing miniature	[after 93]
Volume 2		Suffrage to Saint Elizabeth	94
missing miniature	[after 2]	missing miniature	[after 95]
Prayer to one's guardian angel ("Obsecro te angelica")	3	Suffrage to Saint Catherine	96
<i>Saint John the Baptist</i> (Fig. 13.12)	[after 6]	<i>Saint Odilia</i> (Fig. 13.18)	[after 98]
Suffrage to Saint John the Baptist (Fig. 13.13)	7	Suffrage to Saint Odilia (Fig. 13.19)	99
missing miniature	[after 25]	<i>Circumcision</i> (Fig. 13.20)	[after 104(?)]
Suffrage to Saint Christopher	26	(or missing miniature?)	
missing miniature	[after 34]	Prayer for the Feast of the Epiphany	105
Suffrage to Saint Mark	35	missing miniature	[after 108]
missing miniature	[after 35]	Prayer for the Feast of the Resurrection	109
Suffrage to Saint Luke	36	missing miniature	[after 111]
missing miniature	[after 42]	Prayer for the Feast of Pentecost	112
Suffrage to Saint Valentine	43	<i>Assumption of the Virgin</i> (Fig. 13.21)	[after 114]
missing miniature	[after 43]	Prayer at the Assumption of the Virgin (Fig. 13.22)	115
Suffrage to Saint George	44	missing miniature	[after 116]
missing miniature	[after 56]	Prayer for the Feast of All Saints	117
Suffrage to Saint Benedict	57	missing miniature	[after 228]
missing miniature	[after 64]	Office of the Dead	229
Suffrage to Saint Bernard	65	missing miniature	[after 280]
missing miniature	[after 65]	Prayer to Christ ("O Jesu vera libertas")	281
Suffrage to Saint Augustine	66		
<i>Saint Jerome</i>	[after 66]	It is also possible that <i>A Cardinal</i> (ex coll. Calmann; now missing), instead of being inserted after folio 234, formed a sort of double frontispiece with the coat of arms on folio 1v of volume 1 (Fig. 13.1); a stub indicates that a miniature is missing at that juncture.	
Suffrage to Saint Jerome	67	25. See note 17 above.	
<i>Saint Francis</i>	[after 67]	26. Testa 1994, ill. (fols. 1v, 22v, 23, 36v, 43v, 49v, 55v, 56, 61v, 62, 71v).	
Suffrage to Saint Francis	68	27. See, for example, the <i>Lamentation</i> attributed to the Master of the Older Prayer Book of Maximilian I in the Hours of	

- Isabel la Católica (Cleveland Museum of Art, MS 63.256, fol. 261v; De Winter 1981, fig. 157).
28. Miegroet 1989, pp. 308–9, no. 43, colorpl. 224 (as workshop of David); De Vos in Bruges 1994, p. 238, no. 92, color ill. (as David; De Vos suggests that the composition derives from paintings by Hans Memling and Hugo van der Goes and that David may have had a workshop pattern for the central grouping).
29. Miegroet 1989, pp. 309–10, no. 44, colorpl. 222.
30. Testa 1986a, pp. 91, 169–70, ill.
31. See note 16 above.
32. Kupfer-Tarasulo 1979, p. 279, fig. 4(50).
33. Brussels 1962, pp. 37–40, no. 64.
34. Riehl 1907, pp. 435–60; Dogaer 1987, pp. 171, 177.
35. Delaissé, Marrow, and De Wit 1977, pp. 562–95, fig. 32.
36. British Museum, Department of Manuscripts 1877, pp. 977–78; Winkler (1925) 1978, p. 180, pl. 82; Backhouse 1979, p. 77, pl. 67.
37. In two other manuscripts also from the Bening workshop, the Book of Hours in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Cm. 23637; see note 34 above), and the Hours of Charles V in the Alexandre P. Rosenberg collection, New York, smaller miniatures of the Pietà preface the O intemerata, as does the *Lamentation* in the Waddesdon Manor Hours (see note 35 above). The O intemerata is not illustrated in the Brandenburg Hours.
38. Sotheby's sale 1988, lot 65, p. 93. De Hamel credits the first assistant with the large miniatures on folios 21, 22, and 152 of volume 1 and folios 9, 45v, 48, and 123 of volume 2 and with the historiated borders on folios 21, 22, and 196 of volume 1 and folios 45v, 56, 58v, 63v, 186v, 276, 281, and 288v of volume 2. He believes the second assistant painted the large miniature on folio 62v of volume 2.
39. Hofmann and Thurn 1978, pp. 26–28, pl. 26 (fol. 1). See also Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, vol. 2, pp. 299–300.
40. See No. 14, note 26.

Simon Bening Bruges, 1558

14. Self-portrait

1975.1.2487

Verso: blank.

Tempera on parchment. 85 x 57 mm. Inscribed on a red background on the frame beneath the portrait: *Simon Bennik. Alexandri. F[ilius] Se Ipsu. Pi[n]gebat. Ano. Aetatis. 75. 1558.*

The parchment has been mounted on a larger piece of very stiff card that has been attached at the upper corners to wooden board. The edges of the recto of the card that show beyond the parchment have been painted brown, and on the verso there are residues of adhesive and paper. Some losses are apparent in the painting: the gold has flaked along the lower frame at the right and along the left border by the window frame; the black of the garment has flaked some, so that the buttons down the front of the garment are barely visible; and there is a loss of definition in the index finger of the figure's left hand. A number of pigment losses appear to be from fingerprints. Some of these losses were inpainted sometime in the past. The letters of the inscription are gold; the date, 1558, is painted with yellow pigment reinforced with a dark line, but a fleck of gold remains at the bottom of the 8. Under ultraviolet light the red in the bottom border fluoresces darker in the area with the date than in the area of the inscription. All this may indicate that the painted numbers replaced original gold numbers that had suffered extensive losses.

PROVENANCE: Bonnier collection, Lille; Count Straszewicz, Lille (sale, Lille, 8 March 1837); Paul Delaroff, Saint

Petersburg; Eugène Pelletier, Paris. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Pelletier in 1926.¹

EXHIBITED: Baltimore 1949, no. 213; Paris 1957, no. 150, pl. 79; Cincinnati 1959, no. 343, ill.; New York 1972, no. 4; New York 1996–97 (not in catalogue).

LITERATURE: Durrieu 1921, p. 67; Destrée 1923, p. 53; Winkler (1925) 1978, p. 180; De Ricci 1937, p. 1718; Wescher 1946, p. 208; Colding 1953, pp. 62–63, 179, n. 43; Lugt 1968, p. 29, under no. 82; Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, vol. 2, p. 293; London 1983, p. 30, under no. vi; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 85, n. 14 under no. 10; Marrow 1984, pp. 553, 558, n. 54; De Hamel (1986) 1994, p. 185, fig. 164; Dogaer 1987, p. 173; Alexander 1992, pp. 32, 34; Scaillièrez 1992, pp. 26, 27, n. 29, fig. 15; Utrecht 1993, p. 174, ill.

This miniature painting has attracted considerable interest as an early self-portrait of an artist. The sitter is identified by the inscription written in gold on a red background on the illusionistic painted frame: "Simon Bennik, the son of Alexander, painted this himself at the age of 75 in 1558." The artist is portrayed half-length, seated before a wooden easel displaying a drawing of the Virgin and Child. As he turns away from his work and looks out toward the viewer, he rests one hand on



No. 14 (enlarged)

his easel and with the other holds up his spectacles. The small wooden ledges along the left edge of the easel hold a seashell filled with blue or black pigment and some pigment wrapped in a piece of paper or parchment. A landscape with a church can be seen through the leaded glass window behind the figure.

The existence of a second, nearly identical self-portrait of Simon Bening (Fig. 14.1) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (P.159-1910),² has led some scholars to refer to the painting in the Robert Lehman Collection as a replica,³ but no one has undertaken a systematic examination of the two works in order to clarify the exact nature of their relationship. In fact, comparing the Lehman leaf and the London leaf raises no evidence that would call the authenticity of either into question. Although the two leaves are almost exactly the same size, they are not identical. The gold ring on the little finger of the right hand of the sitter in the London painting and the wooden button on his right sleeve are absent in the Lehman miniature. A house and a church are clearly visible through the leaded glass window in the Lehman portrait; in the London painting the landscape is blurred and ill defined and only the faint shape of a house can



Fig. 14.1 Simon Bening, *Self-portrait*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, P.159-1910. Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert



Fig. 14.2 Frans Francken the Younger, *Collector's Gallery*. Rubenshuis, Antwerp

be made out. On the London miniature gold spandrels embellish the upper corners of the painted frame, and the first line of the inscription is centered on the frame's lower edge and filled out by a small decorative pen flourish. On the Lehman version the spandrels are missing, and the first line of the inscription starts at the left edge of the frame and ends at the right edge, with no flourish. In the inscription on the London miniature the name Simon is abbreviated as "Simō"; on the Lehman miniature it is spelled out. The date, 1558, is written in the same hand as the rest of the inscription on the London miniature; the date may have been added to the inscription on the Lehman miniature (or retraced?), perhaps by a later hand.

That the date might have been added later may suggest that the Lehman portrait is the copy and the London version the original. On the other hand, that the Lehman painting lacks the gold spandrels on the frame would seem to indicate that it is the original, for the spandrels are also lacking in a reproduction of the Bening self-portrait in a painting by Frans Francken the Younger of an unidentified collector's gallery that bears the date 1619 (Rubenshuis, Antwerp; Fig. 14.2).⁴ The assumption that one of the portraits is the "original" and the other the "copy" may in itself be false, however. It is difficult to attribute the few differences, some of them rather conspicuous, between the two paintings merely to the carelessness of a copyist who inadvertently deviated from his model. If both miniatures can be accepted instead as autographs by Simon Bening of approximately



Fig. 14.2, detail

the same date, the question of the precedence of one over the other ceases to be especially relevant. One version was no doubt painted first, from life, and the other then copied from it.

The execution of the face and hands in the two miniatures, in particular, confirms that both are by Simon Bening. Using an extremely fine brush, the artist built up the features in both paintings by modeling them with

short, almost pointillistic strokes. The effect is extraordinary. The face shows not only the wrinkles of age but also the subtle changes in the texture of the skin, from the bristly chin and jowls to the softer, though furrowed, cheeks and forehead. Just above the neckline, where the smock fastens, the aging skin looks puckered, loose, and dry where it is pulled by the fabric. The hands, short, even stubby, with finely groomed nails, are also sensitively drawn in both paintings, with the same shading at the sides of the fingers and the same articulation of the lines in the palm. Only the same individual could have replicated either miniature with such finesse. One can imagine the artist executing one miniature (the Lehman leaf?), then completing the other (the Victoria and Albert leaf?), adding certain refinements like the reworking of the inscription, the spandrels, the button, and the ring.

Both these miniatures are more likely to have been made as independent paintings than as part of a book. Just what sort of medieval book such a painting might have illustrated is hard to imagine, and the self-portrait was reproduced as an independent picture in Francken's painting only some fifty years after Bening created it. Miniature painting, or limning as it was called in Tudor England, had begun to establish itself as an art form, at least in England, by the 1530s or 1540s. Bening's own daughter Levina Teerlinck (1510/20–1576) was a miniaturist of some renown at the English court.⁵ We can assume that she learned the craft in Bruges, presumably from her father, before she emigrated to England in 1545 or 1546.⁶ The extremely small scale, the gold inscription, and the spontaneity of expression are all features that Bening's self-portraits share with English miniature paintings. In painting his self-portrait in this form, Bening was acknowledging his acquaintance with and his expertise at a new enterprise, the painting of portrait miniatures, the techniques of which, as practiced in England, were identical to those of Ghent-Bruges book painting, as Strong and Murrell have emphasized.⁷

But what of the subject, a self-portrait? Wescher has suggested that this painting conveys Bening's "seriousness and pride, a certain contempt for the world, and even a certain bitterness,"⁸ and Murrell thinks it shows Bening as "tense, tired and hermit-like."⁹ Whether or not the self-portrait mirrors Bening's personality, it does make a statement about him as a practitioner of his profession, and it does so primarily through three devices: the costume, the drawing on the easel, and the inscription. The clothing Bening chose to represent himself in, particularly the hat, identifies him as a member of the intelligentsia, rather than an artisan, and asserts that he



Fig. 14.3 Simon Bening, *May*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Salting MS 2538 (E.4575-1910). Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert

enjoyed an elevated stature in the society of his day.¹⁰ The drawing of the Virgin and Child on the easel allies Bening's portrait with the tradition of the physician-artist Saint Luke painting the Virgin, a subject that over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries became a conceit for the self-portrait of the artist.¹¹ By inscribing his work with a signature and a date Bening was articulating not only an interest in historicity, in the documentation of his work as an artist, but also a pride in his abilities, perhaps even in his abilities in his old age.¹² When he reminds us that he is the son of Alexander, who was not only his father but also his teacher, he calls attention to the unbroken line of Benings as artists in Bruges. We are, it would seem, a long way from the medieval illuminator's perception of himself as an anonymous craftsman or artisan. Bening also dated one of his miniatures, one of a set of the four Evangelists in the Brooklyn Museum (11.502–5) that depicts Saint Luke as both a painter and a scribe.¹³ Dated miniatures



Fig. 14.4 Simon Bening, *The Evangelist Mark*. Hennessy Hours, fol. 23v. Copyright Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels, MS II 158

from this period are rare; one might wonder whether the 1521 inscribed on a sheet of parchment tacked to a shelf in Bening's *Saint Luke* bears witness to a changed notion of the illuminator as a master-artist rather than a craftsman.

Because Bening was primarily a manuscript illuminator and not a panel painter, his work has been discussed only fleetingly in conjunction with that of the painters who were his contemporaries in Flanders. Yet if we are to take Bening's self-portrait seriously it is precisely to comparisons with panel painters that we should turn. Especially revealing is the relationship between Bening's work and the art of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525/30–1569), whose early career, in the 1540s and 1550s, was exactly contemporaneous with Bening's late career, though in Antwerp rather than Bruges. Bruegel's drawing *An Artist and a Buyer*, often incorrectly titled *The Painter and the Connoisseur* (Albertina, Vienna), of about 1565 or later, has been interpreted as presenting a

sophisticated humanist metaphor for a craftsman-artist, the practitioner of *ars mechanica* who retains a superiority over the greedy clients who misunderstand his work by virtue of the fact that they can never deprive him of his ability to make art.¹⁴ Another representation of the artist by Bruegel, *The Painter at His Easel*, which is known only through copies, shows the painter dressed in the garb of the humanist, the practitioner of *ars liberalis* who expresses his view of the world around him by painting a fool, an emblem of folly, on his canvas, while in the background, as if to underscore the different levels of artistry, his assistant grinds his pigments for him.¹⁵

Like Bening's self-portrait, these works by Bruegel testify to a rise in the stature of the artist, and they too exist in multiple copies. Matthias Winner has suggested, based on the inscriptions on the drawings and their early provenance, that Bruegel may have made them to offer as gifts to his humanist colleagues.¹⁶ Might not Bening's miniatures be seen in the same light? That the self-portrait occupies such a prominent position in the painting by Frans Francken (Fig. 14.2), where it is placed



Fig. 14.5 Simon Bening, *Portrait of a Man*. Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris, RF3925

next to a sketchbook in the foreground of a collector's gallery, as though to emphasize the role of the artist both as inventor and as maker, offers support for this interpretation.

The self-portrait by Bening is probably contemporary with a set of eight Calendar miniatures attributed to him that are painted on the rectos and versos of four leaves now in London, two in the British Library (Add. MS 18855) and two in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Salting MSS 2538 [E.4575-1910], 2600),¹⁷ although the differences in the subject matter make comparison difficult and the Calendar leaves cannot be dated precisely either by document or by inscription. Kren has pointed out that a similar line of trees guides the eye to the distant horizon in Bening's *June* and in Bruegel's *Return of the Hunters*, which was painted in 1565.¹⁸ Bruegel's painting also has the same high vantage point as both the *June* and the *July* in the London Calendar set, and in all three the landscape is organized into pockets of activity stretching back as far as the eye can see. Bening's Calendar miniatures have been dated to the 1540s, but on the

basis of comparisons with *Return of the Hunters* and Bruegel's other paintings of the Months a date before the 1550s is improbable, and they may have been painted as late in the decade as the self-portraits. They would thus be contemporary with Bruegel's *Children's Games* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna),¹⁹ which is dated 1560 and in which the townscape is very much like the one in Bening's *May* (Fig. 14.3). Kren has effectively demonstrated that these Calendar miniatures by Bening seem to represent the culmination of a chronological sequence of Calendar cycles he painted over the first half of the sixteenth century, a sequence that illustrates "a dramatic evolution in the artist's treatment of landscape, in which he develops more variegated terrain, more clearly articulated spatial recession, and deeper, more atmospheric vistas [in which] the figures play an increasingly minor role."²⁰ Accepting the Calendar miniatures as works produced late in Bening's career, contemporary with the self-portraits and with Bruegel's paintings, provides a further basis for discussion of Bening's late style.

Two other works should be grouped with the Lehman miniature in the last years of Bening's career: the *Hennessy Hours* in the Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels (MS II 158),²¹ and the *Portrait of a Man* in the Louvre, Paris (Cabinet des Dessins, RF3925).²² On the basis of its Calendar miniatures, the *Hennessy Hours* has usually been placed in the 1530s or 1540s in a chronological sequence following the *Da Costa Hours* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.399)²³ and the so-called *Golf Book* (British Library, London, Add. MS 24098)²⁴ but before the London Calendar miniatures. What has not been noticed before is that a miniature depicting the Evangelist Mark in the *Hennessy Hours* (fol. 23v; Fig. 14.4) provided the model for Bening's self-portrait. Posed in three-quarter view in front of a leaded glass window of the same design as the one in the self-portrait, Mark sits writing before a podium. Spandrels like those on the London version of the self-portrait decorate the upper corners of the miniature. If it were to be cropped to a square that included the figure of Mark, the podium, and the window, the composition would be very close to that of the self-portrait.

The portrait miniature in the Louvre (Fig. 14.5) has also been compared to the self-portrait, but it has usually been dated much earlier, partly on the basis of a fallacious reading of the date 1525 in some scribbles on the left side of the painting and partly because Wescher and others have suggested that it is a self-portrait of Bening as a younger man. Although the scribbles have long been



Fig. 14.6 Levina Teerlinck, *An Elizabethan Maundy*. Private collection, England

considered meaningless and the identity of the figure as Bening was questioned some time ago, the early date has not been relinquished in the scholarship on Bening.²⁵ Yet this portrait must be contemporaneous with both the self-portrait and the Calendar miniatures. The same technique was used for the modeling of the face and the shading of the fingers in both portraits, and the composition of the landscape in the Louvre portrait, with its high horizon, raised vantage point, and pockets of activity, is virtually identical to those in the Calendar miniatures. (The same washerwoman, though in reverse, and the same figures on horseback even appear in the backgrounds of the Louvre portrait and *May* [Fig. 14.3].)

Defining Bening's late style has always been problematic because most of the works that can be dated by document or by inscription cluster around the decade of the 1520s, or relatively early in his career.²⁶ The Lehman and London self-portraits, the Calendar miniatures, and the Louvre portrait, all of which stand at the other end of the chronological spectrum, reveal what seems to be a different artistic personality, a miniaturist who appears to have been changing with the times as he looked outside his own craft, bookmaking, toward another, independent painting. We can now ask whether the set of four "detached" Calendar leaves in London, which cannot have come from a book, are indeed shop specimens or workshop patterns, as Kren has argued.²⁷ Instead, might they not be diminutive paintings, the equivalents in miniature of Bruegel's large paintings of the Months? Some support for this interpretation can be adduced from Levina Teerlinck's originally rectangular miniature *An Elizabethan Maundy* (Fig. 14.6), which like Bening's pictures of the Months is a genre painting in miniature.²⁸ It seems reasonable to propose that at the end of Bening's distinguished career he recast the illuminated leaf in ways that reveal at once his heightened sense of himself as an artist and his awareness of developments in the parallel arts of miniature painting and panel painting.

NOTES:

1. Two documents describing the miniature and its provenance, one printed while Paul Delaroff owned the miniature in the nineteenth century, the other probably handwritten by Eugène Pelletier in the early twentieth century, have been removed from the old backing. The printed document says the miniature "provient de M. Bonnier fils, directeur du Musée de Lille" and that it was acquired at "la vente du Comte polonais Straszewicz" in Lille on 8 May 1837. The handwritten document says the miniature "provient de la collection Delaroff de Saint Petersburg" and mentions the "réplique" in the Victoria and Albert and lists the places

it had been published (see note 2 below). According to an undated, unsigned note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, Robert Lehman acquired the self-portrait from Eugène Pelletier in 1926.

2. Weale 1906, pp. 356–57, ill.; London 1908, p. 118, no. 241, pl. 144; Durrieu 1921, p. 67, pl. 87, fig. 4; Destrée 1923, pp. 52–56, pl. 10; Winkler 1925 (1978), p. 180; Wescher 1946, especially p. 208; D'Ancona and Aeschlimann 1949, pl. 12 (as a "feuillet détaché d'un Livre d'Heures"); Colding 1953, pp. 62–63, 179, n. 43, fig. 101; Euw and Plotzek 1979–85, vol. 2, p. 293; Murdoch et al. 1981, colorpl. 1c; London 1983, p. 30, no. vi, ill.; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 85, n. 14 under no. 10; Marrow 1984, pp. 553, 558.
3. See Destrée 1923, p. 53; Béguin in Paris 1957, no. 150; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 85, n. 14 under no. 10; and Marrow 1984, p. 553, n. 54. Strong (London 1983, p. 30) suggested that "technical examination side by side would be the only way of establishing which was the *ad vivum* portrait and which the repetition."
4. Winkler ([1925] 1978, p. 180) appears to have been the first to notice that the Lehman miniature is the one included in Francken's painting, which is discussed in Speth-Holterhoff 1957, p. 69, figs. 9, 10.
5. See Auerbach 1954, pp. 51, 75–77, 91, 97, 103–5, 187–88; Murdoch et al. 1981, pp. 41, 44–45; London 1983, pp. 52–57; and Strong 1983, p. 55. In her own time Levina Teerlinck was praised by Vasari and Guicciardini (Vasari [1568] 1878–85, vol. 7, p. 587, and Guicciardini [1567] 1582, p. 153; both quoted in Weale 1864–65, pp. 307–8).
6. Murrell (in London 1983, p. 25) has noted that "Teerlinck's modelling of the features is looser and more impressionistic than that of any other English limner, the technique being very similar to that which her father, Simon Binninck, used in his self-portrait [referring to the London version]. This manner of limning is quite unlike any other for it is carried out with the side of the pencil rather than the point. The flesh tones and shadows were laid on in transparent broad washes, with only the occasional hatched accent."
7. London 1983, pp. 15, 34, 52.
8. Wescher 1946, p. 208.
9. Murrell in London 1983, p. 30.
10. Compare this Bening self-portrait to Martin van Heemskerck's hatless self-portrait, which is signed and dated 1553, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 13, p. 91, no. 220, pl. 112). The hat is similar but not identical to that worn by Pieter Bruegel's artist in the drawing *An Artist and a Buyer* (see note 14 below) and possibly even closer to the hat worn by Holbein in a miniature self-portrait that Destrée (1923, pp. 53–56) found similar to those by Bening. Holbein's portrait exists in two versions, one in the Wallace Collection, London, and the other in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp, the latter considered a copy.
11. See Klein 1933.
12. For other portraits (though not miniatures) with similar inscriptions, see Heemskerck's self-portrait of 1553 and

- his portrait of his father of 1532 (Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 13, pp. 40, 91, nos. 220, 221, pls. 112, 113) and Antonis Mor's portrait of Jan van Scorel of 1560 (ibid., pp. 63, 103, no. 364, pl. 180). English portrait miniatures were nearly always signed and dated, in gold, in the background at head height on either side of the sitter.
13. Marrow 1984, figs. 1–4 (see Fig. 11.7 [*Saint Matthew*]).
 14. For this interpretation, see Anzelewsky in Berlin 1975, pp. 80–82, no. 95, pl. 126, and see also Münz 1961, p. 224, no. 126, pl. 123. Four copies of the drawing exist (Münz 1961, p. 237, nos. A45–A48, pls. 196–99).
 15. Berlin 1975, pp. 82–83, no. 97, pl. 127.
 16. Winner, Berlin, conversation with the author.
 17. Kren in Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 79–85, no. 10 (with bibliography), colorpl. 13, figs. 10a–f, 10h.
 18. Ibid., p. 81, figs. 10h, 10j; and see also Tolnai 1934, p. 125.
 19. Hindman 1981, ill.
 20. Kren in Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, p. 81. On Bening's landscapes, see also Kren 1987–88.
 21. See Destrée 1923.
 22. Published as a self-portrait (which it is not) by Wescher (1946, pp. 208–9); Lugt (1968, p. 29, no. 82, pl. 42); Euw and Plotzek (1979–85, vol. 2, p. 298); and Scaillièrez (1992, pp. 26–28, fig. 14). See also Colding 1953, pp. 62, 179, n. 40 (where the sitter is identified, with no reason given, as the printer Rotscholtz and the castle in the background as Wartburg Castle), fig. 102 (captioned "Unknown man").
 23. Quaritch catalogue 1905; Winkler 1962, p. 13, figs. 7, 8.
 24. British Museum 1911.
 25. See Lugt 1968, p. 29, and, for a summary of the controversy, Scaillièrez 1992, p. 27.
 26. Marrow lists these works in an appendix to his 1984 article (pp. 558–59). They include the *Saint Luke* dated 1521 and its three companion miniatures in the Brooklyn Museum (11.502–5; see note 13 above); a miniature of the Crucifixion, dated 1530 by document, that was in a Missal in Diksmuide that was destroyed in World War I (Weale 1872–73, pp. 118–19; Weale 1906, ill. p. 357; Durrieu 1921, pl. 88); a *Genealogy of the Infante Dom Fernando of Portugal*, dated 1530–34 by documents, in the British Library (Add. ms 12531; Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 69–78, no. 9, ill.); a prayer book in the Beels collection, Hilversum, dated 1511 on the basis of a colophon (Lieftinck 1957, ill.); the Musgrave Hours in the collection of Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia, dated 1524 in the border of the Calendar page for December (Warner 1920, vol. 1, pp. 244–49, no. 106, vol. 2, frontis., pls. 90, 91; Dyson Perrins sale 1960, lot 144); the Holford Hours in the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon (L.A. 210), reportedly dated 1526 in the Calendar (Beatty sale 1932, lot 31); a Book of Hours in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M.451) that is signed and dated 1531 by the scribe Antonius van Damme (New York 1933–34, pp. 63–64, no. 135, pls. 90C–D); and a prayer book in Spanish in a private collection in Belgium that is signed and dated 1545 by Van Damme (sale, Christie's, London, 10 March 1976, lot 203, color frontis.).
 27. Kren in Malibu–New York–London 1983–84, pp. 80–81. The scenes on the recto and verso of one of the leaves in the British Library (Add. ms 18855, fol. 108) appear to represent March and December, respectively. If that is so, they cannot be pages from a book.
 28. Murdoch et al. 1981, p. 45, fig. 60; London 1983, p. 55, no. 42, colorpl. 10.

ITALY

Niccolò di Ser Sozzo

documented Siena 1348–died Siena 1363

Though generally recognized as the preeminent illuminator in Siena in the middle of the fourteenth century, Niccolò di Ser Sozzo remains an enigmatic personality. First identified from the signature *Nicholaus Ser Sozzi de Senis me pinxit* on a large illumination of the Assumption in the *Caleffo dell'Assunta* in the Archivio di Stato, Siena (Capitoli 2, fol. 8), one of the monuments of early Sienese painting, he had since the eighteenth century been assumed to be the son of the Sienese nobleman Ser Sozzo di Francesco Tegliacci. New archival research has revealed, however, that none of the many surviving documents pertaining to the Tegliacci family indicate that Sozzo di Francesco ever had a son named Niccolò. More likely, the painter was the son of the notary and miniaturist Ser Sozzo di Stefano, who is known only through documents dated between 1293 and 1321.¹

A reconstruction of the artistic personality of Niccolò di Ser Sozzo is complicated by the fact that the few surviving notices of him are unconnected with any work of art or commission, but concern instead his civic life and apparently active involvement in public office. The earliest known record dates from 1348, when he is listed as “Nicolò di Ser Sozo dipentore” in the loan records of the Commune. In 1357, 1359, and again in 1362 he is documented as one of the *priori* (officers) for what must have been his residential district, the Terzo di Camollia, and in 1361 he is recorded among the officials of the Mercanzia. Only in 1363 does his name appear in the register of the painters’ guild, but that same year, on 15 June, his burial is recorded in the *Necrologio* of San Domenico.² Given the fairly consistent appearance of the artist’s name between the first recorded document and his death, it is tempting to speculate that he may have fallen victim at a still relatively young age to the plague, which, coincidentally, swept Siena in the spring and early summer of 1363, striking particularly hard, we are told, in the months of May and June.³

Whether Niccolò’s earliest training occurred in the workshop of his putative father is unclear, for none of the documents pertaining to Ser Sozzo di Stefano, who is always called *miniature* and never *dipentore*, indicate whether he was actually involved in the illumination of books or just in their writing and manufacture.⁴ Visual evidence suggests that while Niccolò may have inherited his father’s business, he formed his pictorial

vocabulary on the example of Pietro Lorenzetti, in whose mature production we find the roots of the formal and decorative concerns, as well as the compositional motifs, that appear throughout Niccolò’s oeuvre.⁵

The principal evidence for reconstructing Niccolò’s artistic career is constituted by the signed but undated miniature of the Assumption in the *Caleffo dell'Assunta*, a register of Sienese public documents transcribed between 1334 and 1336, and a large polyptych in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, that is dated 1362, just a year before Niccolò’s death, and signed jointly by him and Luca di Tommè.⁶ On the basis of these works a number of illuminations and large-scale paintings have been attributed to Niccolò, with no agreement, however, on a chronological framework for their execution. While the *Assumption* is generally considered his first mature effort, its dating has oscillated from as early as 1336, the date of completion of the *Caleffo*’s text,⁷ to as much as a decade later, or around the time his name first appears in documents.⁸ Equally problematic is the lack of consensus regarding not only the exact division of labor between Niccolò and Luca di Tommè on the 1362 altarpiece but also, as a consequence, the nature of their collaboration and the evolution of their respective styles.

PP

NOTES:

1. Moran and Fineschi 1976 (with earlier bibliography). Chelazzi Dini (in Siena 1982, p. 229) appears to have misunderstood Moran and Fineschi’s text; she has proposed that there were two Niccolòs, one the painter and the other the son of Sozzo di Francesco Tegliacci, and that the documents referring to a Niccolò di Ser Sozzo in public office pertain to the latter.
2. The documents were gathered in 1932 by Brandi, who also published for the first time a record of payments to a “Niccholello pictori” in 1338 (with the caveat that whether this was in fact a reference to the young Niccolò or to another artist by that name could not be ascertained).
3. See Malavolti (1599) 1982, part 2, bk. 7, fol. 124v.
4. The only document to refer to a specific commission is one of 17 November 1293, where it is stated that Sozzo di Stefano was to be paid “pro miniatura” for five books of papal and imperial constitutions (Borghesi and Banchi 1898, p. 211). Giusti (in Siena 1982, p. 61) has accurately pointed out that throughout the second half of the thirteenth century most of these government commissions were awarded to notaries, who were writers, rubricators, and miniaturists (i.e., painters of decorated initials), and that only later

were notaries replaced by “professional” miniaturists. Her contention that Sozzo di Stefano was among the latter, however, finds no support in the surviving documents, where the appearance of the title “Ser” before his name would seem to indicate rather that he should be placed in the aforesaid category of notaries. Additionally, the second document concerning Ser Sozzo, recording an unspecified payment to him in 1317, also lists a payment to one “Bindo suo discipolo” (Borghesi and Banchi 1898, p. 211). This pupil of Ser Sozzo is the “miniature e scrittore” Ser Bindo di Viva who is mentioned at regular intervals between 1311 and 1341 in the account books of the Commune (see Romagnoli 1835, vol. 2, pp. 3–7; Borghesi and Banchi 1898, pp. 207–8; and Brandi 1983, p. 420, doc. 120). Bindo appears to have been involved in all aspects of book writing and manufacture; in 1340, for example, he received payment for no less than the “scriptura, correptione, emendatione, miniatura ad pennellum et ad pennam, ligatura et covertis” (writing, correction, emendation, decoration in pen and brush, binding and cover) of three books of statutes for the Capitano di Guerra, the Capitano del Popolo, and the Maggior Sindaco, respectively, of Siena (Borghesi and Banchi 1898, pp. 207–8).

5. Perhaps the clearest reflection of a direct association between the two artists is to be found in two illuminated leaves

in a codex of the *Divine Comedy* in Perugia (Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, 1.70), the high quality of which has prompted Chelazzi Dini (in Siena 1982, pp. 229–32, ill.) and Boskovits (1983, p. 264, ill.) to question the traditional attribution to Niccolò first proposed by Salmi (1954, p. 30; [1955], p. 20), followed by De Benedictis (1979, p. 95), in favor of an attribution to Pietro himself. This suggestion is correctly rejected in the most recent monograph on Pietro (Volpe 1989, p. 206), where the leaves are ascribed to a “close follower.” In fact, while these scenes clearly rely on Lorenzettian compositional examples, their execution reflects neither Pietro’s expressive concerns nor his subtlety of modeling, betraying instead the more generic treatment of landscape and figures that is characteristic of Niccolò’s highly refined albeit inherently formulaic approach. Virtually identical hilly backdrops and physiognomic types are to be found, for example, in two cuttings in the Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, Paris (Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 44), that were attributed to Niccolò by Levi D’Ancona.

6. Fehm 1986, pp. 18–23, 80–83, no. 13, pls. 11.1, 13.1–13.6.
7. De Benedictis 1979, p. 11. Chelazzi Dini (in Siena 1982, pp. 236–38) prefers a slightly later date, about 1338.
8. Meiss 1951, p. 169. Fehm (1986, pp. 16–17) dates it “closer to 1350 than to 1330.”

Niccolò di Ser Sozzo

1342/43–1350

15. The Ascension in an Initial V Cutting from an Antiphonary

1975.1.2472

Verso: three 4-line staves (stave height 29 mm) with two lines of fragmentary text: “illum: ecce duo / xta illos i[n] vesti.”

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 154 x 160 mm, initial 108 x 98 mm. To the right and below the initial V, three 4-line staves (stave height 29 mm) with fragmentary text: “IRI / lile.”

The leaf was unevenly trimmed around the miniature, and the foliate extensions were cropped at the top, bottom, and left. The burnished gold ground has been abraded in the higher points, revealing the light reddish bole. There is moderate flaking in the oranges and greens of the foliage, most notably in the green ball at the lower left corner of the initial ground and in the foliate extensions in the upper left corner of the cutting. Small losses have also occurred in the clouds

to the right of Christ. Flaking of the dark brown ink is visible in the text and musical notation on the recto.

PROVENANCE: [Maggs Brothers, London (Maggs Brothers sale 1921, lot 92, pl. 49 [as the letter A, Italy, fourteenth century]); [Leo S. Olschki, Florence]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Olschki in 1923.¹

EXHIBITED: Baltimore 1949, no. 168 (as Siena, fourteenth century); Paris 1957, no. 179 (as attributed to Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci); Cincinnati 1959, no. 321, ill. (as Siene master, fourteenth century); Atlanta 1973–74, no. 14, fig. 2 (as Siena, mid-fourteenth century).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1706 (as Siena, late fourteenth century); Lehman 1962, p. 23 (as Siena, fourteenth century); De Benedictis 1976b, pp. 112, 117–18, n. 26, 120, pl. 47b (as by an assistant of Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci).



No. 15, recto

The blue letter V, decorated with white filigree penwork and rose, bright orange, and pale green foliage, is set against a square gold ground framed by a light gray border. Placed in a notionally perceived space behind the blue face of the initial and in front of an inner yellow border is the half-length figure of the Virgin, flanked by Saint Peter on the left and an unidentified bearded apostle on the right. Hovering above the three figures, amid a bank of pale blue and white clouds, is

the bust-length image of the blessing Redeemer, wearing a rose-colored mantle over a gray tunic and holding a pale green book in his concealed left hand. The Virgin, clad in a dark blue mantle lined with yellow over a rose-colored tunic, is shown looking out at the viewer, her head slightly bent and her arms crossed over her chest in an attitude of prayer. Saint Peter, wearing an ocher-colored mantle over a gray tunic and holding his customary attribute, the golden key, in his right hand, is

depicted with his head tilted back at a sharp angle, his gaze directed toward the figure of Christ above him. The other apostle is dressed in a bright orange cloak lined with green over a gray tunic and holds a book in his left hand. He also strains to look up at the image of Christ, his right hand raised over his eyes as if to protect them from the divine radiance.

The Lehman illumination, cut from an Antiphonary, illustrates the text of the first antiphon of Lauds for the Feast of the Ascension: “Viri Galilei quid aspicitis in caelum?” (Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking up to heaven?). Still visible on its reverse is a fragment of the second Lauds antiphon for the Feast of the Ascension: “[Cumque intuerentur in caelum euntem] illum, ecce duo [viri astiterunt iu]xta illos i[n] vesti[bus] albis, qui et dixerunt]” (And while they were gazing up to heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in white garments and said to them).² Although its original provenance is unknown, since its appearance on the art market in 1921 the cutting has been unanimously recognized as Sienese and dated to the fourteenth century. Béguin was the first, in the catalogue of the 1957 Paris exhibition, to attribute it specifically to Niccolò di Ser Sozzo (“Tegliacci”) and to associate it with the illuminations executed by Niccolò and his workshop in two Graduals from the cathedral in San Gimignano (Museo Diocesano d’Arte Sacra, Cod. LXVIII.1, LXVIII.4).³ That attribution, however, was rejected in 1976 by De Benedictis, who while recognizing the stylistic affinities be-



No. 15, verso



Fig. 15.1 Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, *The Ascension in an Initial P*. Antiphonary, fol. 31 (detail). Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, Cod. 1.1.9. Photograph: Roberto Testi

tween it and the San Gimignano illuminations described the Lehman cutting as a weaker product of a follower in Niccolò's shop.⁴

The closest stylistic reference for the Lehman cutting is to be found in the illuminations painted by Niccolò in two Antiphonaries in the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena (Cod. 1.1.8, 1.1.9), whose original provenance remains unknown. In Cod. 1.1.9 (fol. 31) we find an only slightly reduced version (Fig. 15.1) of the Lehman *Ascension*, inserted in an initial P rather than a V but otherwise identical in concept and execution. In the Siena *Ascension* the three half-length figures of the Virgin and the apostles display the same gestures and attitudes as in the Lehman cutting, and they occupy the same artificial plane between the face and inside border of the initial, with the blessing Redeemer hovering above them in a bank of clouds. The only significant difference is the reversal of the apostles' hand movements in the Siena miniature, with Peter shown in the act of shielding his face from the apparition and the other apostle with his right hand on his chest – a detail that would seem to suggest Niccolò's own inventive variations of an often repeated subject rather than the slavish, mechanical copying of an assistant. Beyond the compositional similarities, the stylistic proximity of the Lehman illumination to the Siena Antiphonary – where we find the same rounded facial features, tilted heads, sharp

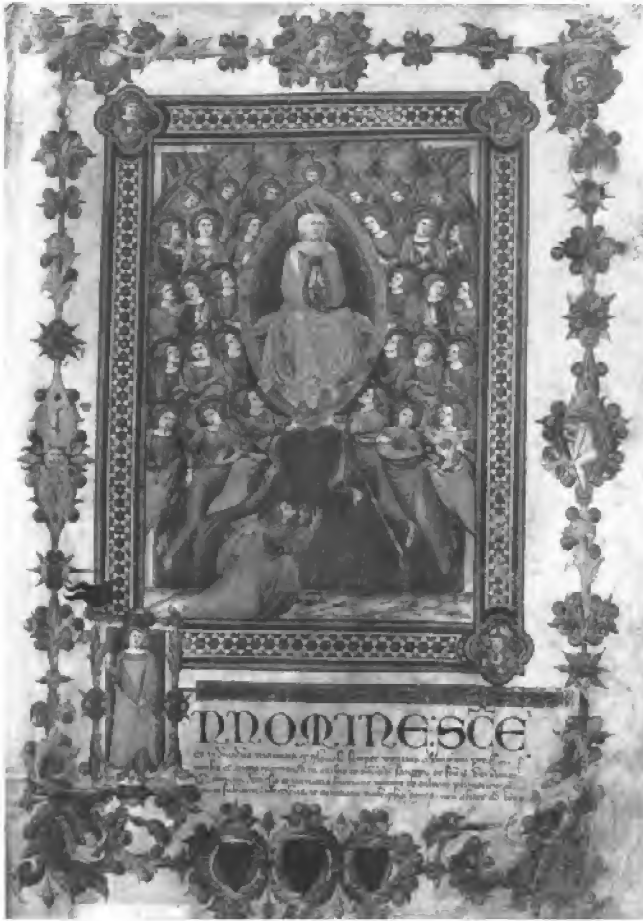


Fig. 15.2 Niccolò di Ser Sozzo, *The Assumption*. *Caleffo dell'Assunta*, fol. 8. Archivio di Stato, Siena, Capitoli 2. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York

outlines, and broad shading – would appear to argue as much for a virtually contemporary dating as for a common authorship.

De Benedictis, who first published the illuminations in Cod. 1.1.8 and 1.1.9 with an attribution to Niccolò, dated their execution to an early phase of the artist's career, around 1330, preceding the signed *Assumption* (Fig. 15.2) in the *Caleffo dell'Assunta* in the Archivio di Stato, Siena (Capitoli 2, fol. 8), and the San Gimignano Graduals.⁵ Chelazzi Dini, on the other hand, has argued for a later dating of about 1340 – slightly before the San Gimignano Graduals, which in turn she dated to 1340–42 based on what she perceives as their clearer dependence on contemporary Lorenzettian models.⁶

Although her assessment of the stylistic affinities between the illuminations in San Gimignano and Siena is correct, Chelazzi Dini's conclusions regarding their relative chronology and relation to the signed *Caleffo* mini-

ature – which she dates to about 1338 – are not entirely convincing. Beginning with the *Caleffo's Assumption*, in fact, where we find spatial concerns and figural types similar to those in the San Gimignano Graduals and the Siena Antiphonaries, none of Niccolò's known illuminations reveal less of a dependence on Pietro Lorenzetti's production around 1340–42 to justify a dating much before the middle of this decade. All of these works, including the Lehman cutting, reflect, above all, a general uniformity in concept and execution that suggests a circumscribed phase in Niccolò's career possibly extending from shortly after 1342, the date of Pietro Lorenzetti's *Birth of the Virgin* in Siena (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo), to around 1350, during which time the artist appears to have been engaged primarily as a miniaturist. Only one of his surviving panel paintings, a *Madonna and Child* formerly in a private collection in Milan, reflects such strong affinities with the known illuminations as to suggest that it may have been painted in the same period.⁷ Starting with the Monteoliveto Altarpiece (Museo Civico Medievale, San Gimignano), frequently dated to the mid-1340s but probably executed no earlier than 1350,⁸ we encounter a hardening of the forms and narrowing of the facial features that will increasingly distinguish Niccolò's panel paintings from his miniature production – suggesting, beyond a simple separation in date, the possible intervention of assistants, among whom may perhaps be identified the slightly younger Luca di Tommè.

Although there is no record of the original book from which the Lehman illumination was excised, the Feast of the Ascension is usually included in a *Temporale*, the volume of an Antiphonary containing movable feasts throughout the liturgical year or, more typically, from Easter Sunday through the twenty-fourth Sunday after Pentecost. The Ascension is virtually never the only subject illuminated in such a book, which normally includes also miniatures for Easter, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Domini. Several of these subjects do appear among the presently known cuttings and single leaves by Niccolò dispersed throughout various European and American collections. None of them, however, albeit stylistically related, seem to conform in stave height, overall dimensions, or musical notation to the Lehman cutting, thus excluding the possibility of a common provenance, and suggesting that other illuminations from the same volume or set of liturgical books have yet to be identified.⁹

MLD'A, PP

NOTES:

1. According to an unsigned, undated note in the Robert Lehman Collection files and De Ricci 1937, p. 1706.
2. The transcription and translation of this text are due to Maria Francesca Saffiotti.
3. See De Benedictis 1976b, and, for Cod. LXVIII.1, Siena 1982, pp. 243–46, ill.
4. When she compiled a list of Niccolò's works in 1979 (pp. 95–96), De Benedictis left out the Lehman illumination altogether.
5. De Benedictis 1974, pp. 53–55, 59, nn. 9, 10, pls. 45a, b, 46a, b.
6. Chelazzi Dini in Siena 1982, pp. 239, 243–46.
7. Fehm 1986, fig. 12.
8. The altarpiece was originally in the parish church of Santa Maria di Monteoliveto at Barbiano (province of San Gimignano), a monastery built by the monks of Monteoliveto

- Maggiore on land bequeathed to them for such purpose by Giovanni di Gualterio Salucci, a nobleman from San Gimignano (see Repetti 1833–46, vol. 1, pp. 271–72, vol. 5, p. 48). It should be noted that the date of Salucci's will, 21 June 1340, which is generally quoted in reference to Niccolò's painting (see De Benedictis 1979, p. 24, and Carli 1987, pp. 75–76), provides nothing more than a terminus post quem for the beginning of the construction of the church and therefore offers no evidence for the dating of the altarpiece. The dating of 1350 with a comparison to the Monteoliveto Altarpiece is due to Pia Palladino.
9. The only cuttings by Niccolò that appear to be from an Antiphonary and have the same stave height as the Lehman cutting are those in Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett, 651–59) and Venice (Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 2060, 2061; Siena 1982, nos. 87, 88, ill.).

Master of the Codex Rossiano

Siena, active ca. 1380–1400

One of the most elusive personalities of fourteenth-century Italian illumination, the Master of the Codex Rossiano receives his name from a series of cuttings preserved in Codex Rossiano 1192 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (1192.1, 3, 5, 8, 10), a scrapbook of miscellaneous manuscript fragments from various places and periods.¹ These miniatures, reflecting both a Sienese stylistic idiom and Florentine decorative elements derived from the school of Santa Maria degli Angeli, were first identified by Boskovits as the product of a Florentine artist trained in Siena and active during the last decade of the fourteenth and first decade of the fifteenth century.² The same author, who later identified this hand in an Antiphonary from the Sienese monastery of Lecceto (Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, Cod. H.I.7), subsequently corrected his initial opinion and suggested that the artist was most likely Sienese, but obviously active outside his native city and especially receptive to Florentine influences. Following Todini, Boskovits also went on to associate the Rossiano Master with two choir books from the

Olivetian monastery of Montemorcino, near Perugia (Archivio dell'Abbazia di Monteoliveto Maggiore, Siena, Cor. I, Y), and with a series of cuttings of Sienese origin in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow (I.R. 1855–63), otherwise attributed to the so-called Cracow Master.³ Although most recent scholarship has generally concurred with Boskovits's identification of this master as a key personality in fourteenth-century Italian manuscript illumination,⁴ his precise identity and the full extent of his participation in Codex H.I.7 and the Cracow series, as well as the roots of his pictorial idiom, remain the subject of debate.

NOTES:

1. Tietze 1911, pp. 167–75, no. 367, f.7, f.11, f.15, f.21, f.25.
2. Boskovits 1975, pp. 112, 232, n. 120.
3. Boskovits 1983, pp. 265–67; Boskovits 1995, pp. 379, 384, n. 11. See also Todini 1982, p. 170. On the Cracow Master, see Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg 1990, pp. 337–53 (with previous bibliography).
4. Freuler in Lugano-Castagnola 1991, pp. 82–83; Kanter in New York 1994–95, pp. 210–18.

Master of the Codex Rossiano
1387(?)

16. The Trinity in an Initial B
Cutting from a Gradual

1975.I.2476

Verso: three 4-line staves (stave height 36 mm) with three lines of fragmentary text: "cem eius audis al / sed nescis unde / aut quo va."

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment, the gold leaf punched in the halos and along the frame. 268 x 255 mm, initial 254 x 243 mm. On the recto to the right of the illumination, the edges of three decorated letters. Annotated in the right margin of the verso in ink in a later hand: 97.

The initial has been trimmed just outside the frame, and the protruding foliate scrolls on all four sides have been cropped. There is scattered flaking overall, especially along the left side, where the truncated figure at the bottom left corner has been almost entirely effaced. A horizontal fold slightly above center has also caused some flaking. The red scoring lines on the verso are visible through the angels in the lower half of the initial.

PROVENANCE: [A. S. Drey, Munich]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Drey in 1924.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 157, pl. 71 (as Bolognese master of the time of Vitale, ca. 1340–50); Cincinnati 1959, no. 319, ill. (as Bolognese master active ca. 1340–50); Atlanta 1973–74, no. 11 (as Bologna, ca. 1340–50); New York 1994–95, no. 26b, color ill. (as Master of the Codex Rossiano).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1707 (as probably Florence, ca. 1390); Lehman 1962, p. 22 (as *Trinity and Christ Surrounded by Angels*, by a Bolognese master); Boskovits 1975, p. 232, n. 120 (as Florence, Master of the Codex Rossiano); Todini 1982, pp. 169, 170, ill. (as Umbria, Master of the Choir Books of Montemorcinio); Boskovits 1983, pp. 265, 269, fig. 17 (as Master of the Codex Rossiano); Szabo 1983, p. 19, fig. 23 (as Bolognese master); Boskovits 1995, p. 384, n. 11 (as Siena, Master of the Codex Rossiano).

The large initial B, containing the Trinity in the upper half and a group of seated angels in the lower, is set against a square gold ground framed by a black reveal ivy rinceau. The Trinity is represented as three identical bearded figures, all with cruciform halos and dressed in blue cloaks over white tunics, sitting on a throne of fiery red seraphim. The figure in the center holds an open book in his lap. Seated in the lower portion of the initial are ten angels identically dressed in white tunics and white cloaks with gold clasps. The angel in the center holds a scepter and a globe; the one to his left holds a white lily in his left hand and raises his right hand in blessing. The initial itself, painted blue, pink, and orange

with white filigree decoration, is intertwined with gray blue, orange, and shell gold foliage whose lush tendrils twist to encircle the bearded figures in the upper corners, two prophets holding scrolls and gesturing toward the Trinity. In the lower corner and still partially visible despite the losses of pigment is the bust-length figure of a white-clad (Olivetani?) monk, shown in profile looking up toward the Trinity.

The letter B, excised from a Gradual, marks the beginning of the Introit of the Mass for Trinity Sunday: "Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas atque indivisa unitas; confitebimur ei quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam" (Blessed be the Holy Trinity and undivided Unity. We will give glory to him because he has shown mercy to us). The largely effaced text on the reverse of the cutting is a fragment of the Communion hymn from the Mass for Ember Saturday after Pentecost, a prescribed day of fasting: "[Spiritus ubi vult spirat et vo]cem eius audis al[leluia, alleluia:] sed nescis unde [veniat] aut quo va[dat]



No. 16, verso



No. 16, recto (*reduced*)



Fig. 16.1 Master of the Codex Rossiano, *The Resurrection* in an Initial R. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.1

alleluia, alleluia, alleluia]" (The spirit blows where it will, and you hear its sound, alleluia, alleluia! But you do not know where it comes from or where it goes, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia).

Since its appearance on the art market in the 1920s, the Lehman illumination had been variously catalogued as mid-fourteenth-century Bolognese, Florentine, and late fourteenth-century Umbrian. It was first attributed to the Master of the Codex Rossiano by Boskovits, who associated it with a group of five illuminations he ascribed to this anonymous artist in Codex Rossiano 1192 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (1192.1, 3, 5, 8, 10; Figs. 16.1–16.5), where aside from a close stylistic comparison, one finds the same punchwork and the inclusion of white-clad monks in the painted borders.² The same punchwork and decorative motifs – including the white-clad monks – occur in four other illuminations in the Rossiano codex (1192.4, 6, 7, 9; Figs. 16.6–16.9)

that Levi D'Ancona correctly ascribes to the workshop of the Florentine illuminator Don Simone Camaldolese.³ Based on her dating of the miniatures and on the presence of the white-clad monks, Levi D'Ancona proposes associating the entire group with Don Simone's documented commission of 1387 for the Olivetan monastery of San Miniato al Monte in Florence.⁴

In the most elucidating discussions of the Lehman *Trinity* to date, Kanter concurred with Boskovits's attribution to the Rossiano Master, while at the same time elaborating on Levi D'Ancona's association of the Lehman and nine Rossiano cuttings with Don Simone's commission for San Miniato al Monte.⁵ Following suggestions first made by Levi D'Ancona, Kanter confirmed the provenance of the Lehman cutting from the same book as the Rossiano illuminations and securely identified one of the fragments first grouped by Boskovits under the Rossiano Master, showing David with two white-clad monks (1192.10; Fig. 16.5), as the bas-de-page from the same leaf as the *Trinity*. The text on the illuminated side of this fragment – "[Uni]tas confitebimur e[i]" – continues, in fact, that begun by the Lehman initial B. Still visible on the other side, moreover, is the rubricated text which would have preceded the Lehman initial – "f.a. Sce. Trinitatis introitus" – indicating that both illuminations were on the verso of the page when it was still bound in the original book.

Having established the codicological relationship between the Lehman *Trinity* and Codex Rossiano 1192.10, Kanter elaborated on Levi D'Ancona's grouping of Rossiano illuminations (1192.1, 3–10) by suggesting that they were excised from a single Gradual for which Don Simone received payments in 1387 from San Miniato al Monte. In the process of his reconstruction of this book, which also includes, aside from the Lehman initial, a full-page cutting with the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 16.10) in the Bernard H. Breslauer collection, New York,⁶ Kanter identified three different hands responsible for the design and execution of the illuminations. Although he attributed the floriated borders in all of the initials to Don Simone (or his shop), Kanter correctly assigned only one illumination to the artist himself (1192.4; Fig. 16.6). The execution of three other cuttings (1192.6, 7, 9; Figs. 16.7–16.9), possibly carried out over a design by Don Simone, he gave instead to the same anonymous artist whose hand appears in the leaf in the Breslauer collection and who is accordingly named the Master of the Breslauer Epiphany.⁷ The six remaining illuminations, including the Lehman *Trinity* – all of which illustrate feasts from the second half of the liturgical year –



Fig. 16.2 Master of the Codex Rossiano, *The Ascension of Christ in an Initial V*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.3



Fig. 16.3 Master of the Codex Rossiano, *Celebration of the Eucharist in an Initial C*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.5

he attributed without question to the Master of the Codex Rossiano.

Kanter's discussion of the Rossiano illuminations and his convincing association of these cuttings with a single Gradual shed some light on the problems which are involved in an accurate assessment of the personality of the Rossiano Master. If this Gradual is indeed to be as-

sociated with Don Simone's recorded commission for San Miniato al Monte – as a possible reference to the patron saints of San Miniato, Minias and John Gualbert, in a partially visible triptych painted in the background of Codex Rossiano 1192.5 (Fig. 16.3) would seem to confirm – it is then possible to justify seeking the master's name in the San Miniato documents. Such



Fig. 16.4 Master of the Codex Rossiano, *The Doubting of Saint Thomas in an Initial Q*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.8

Fig. 16.5 Master of the Codex Rossiano, bas-de-page. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.10





Fig. 16.6 Don Simone Camaldolese, *The Nativity in an Initial D*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.4



Fig. 16.7 Don Simone Camaldolese and Master of the Breslauer Epiphany, *Christ and Two Prophets Appearing to Two White-Clad Monks in an Initial H*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.6



Fig. 16.8 Don Simone Camaldolese and Master of the Breslauer Epiphany, *Saint John the Evangelist in an Initial I*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.7



Fig. 16.9 Don Simone Camaldolese and Master of the Breslauer Epiphany, *The Stoning of Saint Stephen in an Initial E*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rossiano 1192.9



Fig. 16.10 Don Simone Camaldolese and Master of the Breslauer Epiphany, *The Adoration of the Magi in an Initial E*. Bernard H. Breslauer collection, New York, 72

an identification is complicated, however, by the lack of a precise definition of the master's pictorial idiom, variously described as Siennese or Florentine, which consequently affects the extent to which he may be associated with any one of the otherwise unknown Siennese and Florentine illuminators who are recorded as receiving payments in conjunction with Don Simone's commission.

Kanter, who points to the Siennese origins of the punch tools which appear uniformly throughout the Rossiano, Lehman, and Breslauer cuttings, follows Boskovits in considering the Rossiano Master of Siennese extraction and related to, if not identical with, the so-called Cracow Master, named after a series of cuttings of Siennese origin in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow (I.R. 1855–63). This artist was first identified by Chelazzi Dini as a collaborator of Andrea di Bartolo on an Antiphonary in the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena (Cod. H.I.7, fols. 1, 93, 103v, 107; see

Fig. 16.11), and as the author of three of the illuminations in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska (I.R. 1861–63; Figs. 16.12–16.14).⁸ In the most comprehensive study of the Cracow Master to date, Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg, while rejecting Chelazzi Dini's identification of the first artist in Codex H.I.7 as Andrea di Bartolo, accepted her identification of the Cracow Master and suggested that the cuttings in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, also excised from an Antiphonary, were originally included with Codex H.I.7 as part of a three-volume Antiphonary set from the Augustinian convent of Lecceto, outside Siena.⁹

That the Master of the Codex Rossiano and the Cracow Master are one and the same person is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of the Lehman and Vatican cuttings with the illuminations in Siena and Cracow. Both groups share the same distinctively Siennese palette and foliate borders; the figural types with plain oval faces and stocky proportions; the heavily shadowed, wide-open eyes with brilliant pupils; the broadly outlined, heavy-falling draperies; and the simply and clearly



Fig. 16.11 Cracow Master (Master of the Codex Rossiano?), *Saint Paul and Another Saint in an Initial P*. Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, Cod. H.I.7, fol. 107. Photograph: Roberto Testi



Fig. 16.12 Cracow Master (Master of the Codex Rossiano?), *Saint Peter in an Initial S*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, I.R. 1861



Fig. 16.13 Cracow Master (Master of the Codex Rossiano?), *A Saint in an Initial S*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, I.R. 1862

Fig. 16.14 Cracow Master (Master of the Codex Rossiano?), *Saint Agnes in an Initial Q*. Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Cracow, I.R. 1863



articulated spaces. The only distinction lies in the different punch patterns employed in the gold grounds of the Siena and Cracow cuttings, which on the other hand recur in other illuminations attributed to the Rossiano Master, in Washington, D.C. (National Gallery of Art, B-13,523),¹⁰ Detroit (Institute of Arts, 24.108), and formerly in the Kenneth Clark collection in London.¹¹

Although various authors have sought to highlight the Florentine¹² or even Umbrian¹³ elements of the Rossiano and Cracow illuminations, it is generally recognized that the roots of the Rossiano Master's style lie in a distinctively Sienese pictorial tradition. Yet, apart from general comparisons to the work of Lippo Vanni, whose compositional formulas do indeed find a resonance in

the Rossiano Master's production, no serious effort has thus far been made to connect his figural types and manner of execution with any particular artist. Kanter, in referring to the Sieneese origins of two of the tools employed in the punchwork of the Vatican illuminations, pointed to the earlier panel paintings of Lippo Memmi and Naddo Ceccarelli.¹⁴ The style of neither one of these artists, however, seems close enough to suggest a possible source for the Rossiano Master. At the same time, it does appear that a number of the tools used by Naddo Ceccarelli were shared with several of his contemporaries, including Bartolomeo Bulgarini and Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, who according to recent studies by Skaug were associated with Ceccarelli in a "post-1350 compagnia" that revolved around the workshop of Bulgarini.¹⁵ Indeed it is with the work of Bulgarini and Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio, more than with that of any other Sieneese painter, that the Rossiano Master's production finds its closest points of reference – most visibly in the similar figural types with wide-eyed, slightly elongated oval faces framed by gently rolled back curls and in the particular approach to modeling the human form through deeply cast shadow.

Placed in the context of Sieneese painting after 1350, the formation of the Rossiano Master curiously parallels that of his collaborator on the Rossiano illuminations, Don Simone Camaldolese, who although generally considered in the context of Florentine manuscript production was undoubtedly Sieneese by birth and training. Kanter has correctly pointed out the overriding Sieneese components of Don Simone's idiom and their specific source of inspiration in Sieneese painting of the 1370s.¹⁶ Accordingly, if the Rossiano Master and Don Simone were indeed contemporaries and were both trained in Siena, it is not unlikely that they first came in contact in their native city, where Don Simone appears to have been engaged in his only known Sieneese commission (Archivio di Stato, Siena, Campaio 2), most probably just before beginning work on the San Miniato al Monte Gradual.¹⁷

PP

p. 130) is contradictory, since Soldini died in 1386. As first pointed out by Boskovits (1975, pp. 116–17), in fact, none of the few documents associated with Paolo Soldini's name, including that in which he is mentioned next to Don Simone, suggest that he was active as anything other than a specialist in the decoration of filigree initials. The same doubts as to Soldini's actual involvement in the illumination of historiated letters were raised by Levi D'Ancona (1994, p. 34), who in a first attempt to reconstruct the artist's oeuvre attributed to him with certainty only filigree initials, clearly stating that her identification of the same hand in the Rossiano and Lehman illuminations is purely conjectural.

5. Kanter in New York 1994–95, pp. 210–19, especially pp. 218–19.

6. New York 1992–93, p. 190, no. 72. Levi D'Ancona had in 1986 (and see also Levi D'Ancona 1995a) already tentatively associated this leaf with Don Simone's commission for San Miniato al Monte.

7. For further attributions to the same hand, see Boskovits 1995, p. 384, n. 11.

8. Chelazzi Dini in Siena 1982, pp. 320–23. See also Freuler in Lugano-Castagnola 1991, pp. 82–83.

9. Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg (1990, pp. 337–53) identified the second hand in Codex H.1.7 as a "miniature senese, ca. 1400" and attributed all of the cuttings in Cracow (I.R. 1855–63) to the Cracow Master and his school. At the same time she sought to further enlarge the oeuvre of this master by also attributing to him several of the illuminations in Codex G.I.14 in the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, otherwise correctly considered by Chelazzi Dini (in Siena 1982, pp. 324–26) late products of Andrea di Bartolo, following his activity in Codex H.1.7. Close scrutiny of the illuminations in Codex H.1.7 and in Cracow reveals, in the first instance, that the illuminations which Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg assigned to an unknown Sieneese master should instead be attributed to Andrea di Bartolo and Bartolo di Fredi, who both appear to have worked alongside the Cracow Master on this book. The same observations apply to the Cracow cuttings, the execution of which may be divided between Andrea di Bartolo (I.R. 1855–57, 1859), Bartolo di Fredi (I.R. 1858, 1860), and the Cracow Master (I.R. 1861–63). Also related to this group and commission are several other cuttings dispersed in private and public collections, which are listed by Freuler (in Lugano-Castagnola 1991, p. 83) and attributed by him to Andrea di Bartolo and the Master of the Codex Rossiano.

10. Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 36–38, no. 10, ill.

11. Sale, Sotheby's, London, 3 July 1984, lot 82. Kanter (in New York 1994–95, pp. 210, 214, n. 1) proposed that the Washington, Detroit, and ex-Clark illuminations might have been removed from the same book as the cuttings in Cracow. Of these illuminations, however, only the ex-Clark *Saint Agatha*, already listed by Freuler (in Lugano-Castagnola 1991, p. 83), may be associated with the Cracow group. If the Cracow cuttings were indeed originally included in an Antiphonary set for the Augustinian convent of Lecceto, the Washington and Detroit illuminations,

NOTES:

1. See No. 8, note 1.

2. Boskovits 1975, pp. 112, 232, n. 120.

3. Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 28, 82, n. 38; Levi D'Ancona 1995b, p. 125.

4. While Levi D'Ancona's suggestion of a relationship between the Rossiano illuminations and Don Simone's commission of 1387 for San Miniato al Monte is convincing, her identification of the Rossiano Master with Paolo Soldini (1995b,

which show, respectively, the death of Saint Benedict and Saint Benedict presenting his Rule to white-clad (Olivetani?) monks, cannot be related to the same commission, despite the common authorship and punchwork.

12. Freuler in Lugano-Castagnola 1991, pp. 82–83.

13. Todini (1982), followed by Boskovits (1983, 1995), has sought to point out the relationship between the Rossiano Master and Umbrian manuscript production, associating his idiom with that of the illuminations in two little-known codices from the Olivetan abbey of Montemorcino, near Perugia, that are presently located at Monteliveto Maggiore, near Siena (Archivio dell'Abbazia, Cor. I, Y). The style of these miniatures, more recently attrib-

uted by Todini (1989, vol. 1, p. 380) to a “miniature perugino, circa 1370,” bears, however, only a superficial resemblance – most noticeably in the elongated faces and dark outlines rather than in the manner of execution – to that of the Rossiano Master. They are in fact more correctly analyzed in the context of Matteo di Ser Cambio's production, though not attributed directly to him, by De Benedictis (in Assisi and other cities 1982, pp. 276–78).

14. Kanter in New York 1994–95, p. 210.

15. Skaug 1994, vol. 1, pp. 234–36.

16. Kanter in New York 1994–95, pp. 187–88.

17. Boskovits (1975, p. 430, fig. 378) dates the Campaio illuminations to around 1385–90. See also Firmani 1984, p. 171.

Master of the Osservanza

Siena, active second quarter of the fifteenth century

Graziani first called this artist the Master of the Osservanza in 1942,¹ after a triptych in the church of the Osservanza, outside Siena, that bears an inscription and a date of 1436 referring to the founding by Mano Orlandi of the chapel in which it stood in the church of San Maurizio in Siena.² The Osservanza triptych was attributed to Sassetta until 1940, when Longhi postulated that it and a group of related paintings, among them a series of eight small panels with scenes from the legend of Saint Anthony Abbot, were by another artist.³

Many theories have been put forth as to the identity of the Master of the Osservanza. Graziani identified him with Vico di Luca;⁴ others have suggested Sano di Pietro in his youthful period, before 1444,⁵ and Francesco di Bartolomeo Alfei, who was active from 1453 to 1484.⁶ In 1988 Christiansen proposed that the most convincing solution to the problem, first offered by Carli in 1957, is that the works grouped around the Osservanza triptych are the products of a collaborative workshop, or *compagnia*, headed by two or more artists. He considers Vico di Luca the most likely candidate for the Master of the Osservanza.⁷ From 1426 to 1444 Vico di Luca is

mentioned in documents as the head of just such a *compagnia*, and he is known to have collaborated with Sassetta in 1442 on banners for the cathedral of Siena.⁸

NOTES:

1. Graziani's 1942 lecture was published posthumously in 1948.

2. Alessi and Scapecchi 1985, pp. 14–16, ill. The predella from the altarpiece is in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena.

3. Longhi 1940, pp. 188–89, n. 26. For the Anthony Abbot series, see New York 1988–89, pp. 104–23, no. 10, color ill.

4. Longhi in Graziani 1948, p. 88 (a note added to explain the delay in publication).

5. See Brandi 1949, pp. 69–87.

6. Alessi and Scapecchi 1985, pp. 29–33.

7. Christiansen in New York 1988–89, pp. 99–100. Kanter (1994, p. 182) concurs with Christiansen. In order to prove that the Master of the Osservanza was neither Sassetta nor Sano di Pietro, Carli (1957, pp. 89–121) reproduced enlarged photographs of details of works by the three artists side by side.

8. Milanese 1854–56, vol. 2, pp. 48, 244; Borghesi and Banchi 1898, p. 166 (cited in New York 1988–89, p. 100).



No. 17, recto

Master of the Osservanza
possibly 1430s

17. All Saints in an Initial E or O
Cutting from an Antiphony

1975.I.2484

Verso: three 4-line staves (the lines red, the notes and text black, stave height approximately 33 mm) with two lines of fragmentary text: "m, pret[er]ita p[re] / ala pellite:"

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 170 x 140 mm.

Annotated in pencil on the verso: 18 (circled) and 12311.

The miniature has been trimmed to the outside edge of the border, and decorative elements have been cut off at the top, bottom, and left. There is severe flaking overall, particularly in the burnished gold areas, some of which have been toned in, but also to some extent in the painted areas. The black robe of the saint on the left has been smudged. The dark smudges along the top edge of the border and in the top of the initial are probably due to the deterioration of lead whites. There is a sharp vertical wrinkle about 15 millimeters long at the top center of the miniature.

PROVENANCE: [Maggs Brothers, Paris]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Maggs in summer 1929.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 180 (as Pellegrino di Mariano); Cincinnati 1959, no. 327 (as Pellegrino di Mariano); Atlanta 1973-74, no. 65 (as Pellegrino di Mariano; not in catalogue); New York 1988-89, no. 9b, ill. (as *Initial G with the Virgin and Saints*, by the Master of the Osservanza).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1712 (as initial C with the Virgin surrounded by saints including Saint Francis and Saint Paul, doubtless by Pellegrino di Mariano); Pope-Hennessy 1939b, p. 180 (as school of Sassetta).

The Virgin stands with her hands joined in prayer, flanked by Saint Paul on her left and an unidentified saint on her right, in an initial E or O that is pink with white filigree decoration enlivened by orange, blue, and green foliage and set against a burnished gold field in an orange frame. Above the three figures the tops of the halos of a multitude of saints recede into the background. A green wall topped by a green arch with an orange stripe fills the remainder of the space. The Virgin is clad in a pink robe under a blue mantle lined in green. Saint Paul holds a black sword and a white book; his garment is pink and his hair and beard are dark gray. The figure on the left wears the hooded black habit of the Augustinian order and may be Saint Augustine himself.

The text on the verso of the cutting is part of the Vespers hymn for the Feast of All Saints (1 November): "[Christe redemptor omnium, conserva tuos famulos.... Beata quoque agmina celestium spirituu]m, pret[er]ita

p[resentia, futura m]ala pellite" (Christ, Redeemer of all, preserve your servants. . . . And may the band of celestial souls dispel future evils with their past presence).² The illumination thus comes from an Antiphony. The illuminated initial follows the traditional form for a capital E, but it is difficult to identify a text from the Office of All Saints that it might have begun. An initial O would begin the antiphon of the Magnificat from second Vespers: "O quam gloriosum est regnum in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes sancti, amicti stolis albis sequuntur agnum quocumque ierit" (How glorious is the kingdom where all the saints rejoice with Christ; clothed in white robes, they follow the Lamb wherever he goes).

The Lehman initial was nearly unanimously attributed to Pellegrino di Mariano until 1988, when Christiansen made a convincing case for ascribing it to the artistic personality known as the Master of the Osservanza, who may actually have been two or more masters sharing a



No. 17, verso



Fig. 17.1 Master of the Osservanza, *The Baptism of Saint Augustine Witnessed by Saint Monica in an Initial L*. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 90.MS.41

workshop.³ Christiansen further proposed that the Lehman *All Saints* may come from the same set of choir books as two related cuttings (Figs. 17.1, 17.2) that Pope-Hennessy had attributed to the pseudo-Pellegrino di Mariano, an artist of the school of Sassetta:⁴ *The Baptism of Saint Augustine Witnessed by Saint Monica in an Initial L* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 90.MS.41)⁵ and *The Burial of Saint Monica and Saint Augustine's Departure for Africa* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Marlay Cutting It 12),⁶ in which the figure of Saint Monica in prayer closely resembles the praying Virgin in the Lehman *All Saints*. The books may have been commissioned for the church of Sant'Agostino in Siena shortly after 1430, the year Pope Martin V had the relics of Saint Monica taken from Ostia to the church of San Trifone (now Sant'Agostino) in Rome. That same year, the Augustinian monk and humanist Andrea Biglia composed a sermon (long ascribed to Martin V himself) in Siena in which he described the opening of Saint Monica's tomb and the veneration of her relics.⁷

Christiansen convincingly compared the Augustinian monk in the Lehman illumination to the beggar at the left in *Saint Anthony Distributing His Wealth* (National



Fig. 17.2 Master of the Osservanza, *The Burial of Saint Monica and Saint Augustine's Departure for Africa*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Marlay Cutting It 12



Fig. 17.3 Master of the Osservanza, *Saint Anthony Distributing His Wealth to the Poor*. Copyright 1996 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1952.5.20 (817)

Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Fig. 17.3), one of a series of eight small panels depicting scenes from the life of Saint Anthony Abbot.⁸ Both have the pointed nose and chin and rounded eyes with protruding eyelids that are characteristic of figures painted by the Master of the Osservanza. The Saint Paul in the Lehman initial may be compared to Saint Anthony Abbot in *Saint Anthony Tempted by the Devil in the Guise of a Woman* (Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven) in the same series.⁹

MLD'A

NOTES:

1. An unsigned, undated note in the Robert Lehman Collection files reports that Robert Lehman bought this cutting from Maggs Brothers in the summer of 1929, and De Ricci repeated the information in his *Census* (1937, p. 1712).
2. *Breviarium romanum* (Rome, 1961), p. 679. I thank Maria Francesca Saffiotti for identifying this text.
3. Christiansen in New York 1988–89, p. 102, no. 9b.
4. Pope-Hennessy 1939b, pp. 173–74, 180, pl. 29a.
5. London 1965, no. 95 (formerly Dennistoun and Kenneth Clark collections).
6. Wormald and Giles 1982, pp. 108–9; New York 1988–89, pp. 100–102, no. 9a, color ill.
7. On Biglia, see *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 10 (1968), pp. 413–15.
8. New York 1988–89, pp. 110–11, no. 10b, color ill.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 113–15, no. 10d, color ill.

Sano di Pietro

Siena 1405–Siena 1481

A prolific painter and illuminator, Sano di Pietro was one of the dominant figures in Sienese art during the first half and into the third quarter of the fifteenth century.¹ He was born in Siena in 1405, and in 1428 his name was listed in the register of the painters' guild directly below that of Sassetta, who is presumed to have been his teacher.

There is no record of Sano's activity as an independent artist until 1440, and it has been suggested that between 1428 and 1439 he was active in the workshop of the Master of the Osservanza (see No. 17), whose production has often been confused with his. Sano's earliest documented work is the large altarpiece he painted for the Gesuati of San Girolamo, Siena (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena), which is signed and dated 1444.² From this date on, beginning with the signed and dated 1445 fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Sala di Biccherna of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, there are ample and continuous records of his activity as a painter, in the service of the Commune as well as for convents and confraternities throughout Siena.

Sano's gift for storytelling and the engaging narrative style he inherited from Sassetta and the Master of the Osservanza were eminently suited to the demands of manuscript illumination, which from an early stage in his career formed an increasingly important aspect of his production. The first notice of his activity as an illumi-

nator dates from 20 March 1446, when he was paid for five historiated initials and thirteen decorated letters in a Psalter for Siena Cathedral.³ (No surviving books or cuttings have been convincingly associated with this document.) The next record is not until 1459, when he received the first payment for illuminating a three-volume Psalter for the monastery of Monteoliveto Maggiore, southeast of Siena (Museo della Cattedrale, Chiusi, Cod. U, V, X).⁴ To this period may also belong three large miniatures that rank among Sano's most refined creations: the three illuminations he contributed to an Antiphonary (Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna, MS 562, fols. 5v, 54v, 120v) for the Olivetan monastery of San Michele al Bosco in Bologna, which had close ties to Monteoliveto.⁵ At about the same time, in 1462 and 1463, Sano was also engaged with Pellegrino di Mariano and a third, unidentified Sienese artist on the illumination of the liturgical books (Museo della Cattedrale, Pienza, Cor. 62) commissioned by Pius II for his newly built cathedral in Pienza, which already contained a large altarpiece painted by Sano as part of the same decorative program.⁶

Between 1463 and 1473 Sano collaborated with other Sienese painters and illuminators, including Pellegrino di Mariano, on the decoration of a large series of choir books produced for the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala under the rectorship of Niccolò Ricoveri (1456–76).



No. 18 (reduced)

Although the surviving payment records do not refer to the specific books decorated by Sano, the extent of his participation in this commission may be gathered from the large number of illuminations executed by him in three Graduals, an Antiphonary, and a Psalter from this series, which are now preserved in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena (Cod. 95.1, 96.2, 97.3, 90.1, 107.13).⁷ In 1471–72, while he was still working for the hospital, he painted eighteen historiated initials in a Gradual for the Opera of Siena Cathedral (Libreria Piccolomini, Siena, Cod. 27.11) that are remarkable for their refined elegance and delicacy of execution.⁸ Also during these years he executed his only two known secular commissions for manuscript illumination: the beautiful frontispiece in an edition of Cicero's orations in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Vat. lat. 1742, fol. 2v),⁹ and the equally accomplished frontispiece for the 1472 *Statuto della Mercanzia*, the new book of rules and regulations for the Sienese merchants' guild (Archivio di Stato, Siena, n. 6, fol. 11).¹⁰

Among Sano's other undocumented works are the famous Franciscan Breviary from the monastery of Santa Chiara in Siena (Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, Cod. x.IV.2)¹¹ and a Missal written for the Augustinian Friars Hermits of Siena (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 6-1954),¹² both of which have been variously dated as early as 1450 and as late as 1480. To these works may be added a small number of cuttings dispersed in various public and private collections.

Sano di Pietro
ca. 1470

18. The Martyrdom of Saint Agatha in an Initial D Cutting from an Antiphonary

1975.1.2488

Verso: verso concealed, but traces of incised rulings for three 4-line staves (stave height approximately 42 mm) visible from the recto.

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 263 x 257 mm, initial 221 x 235 mm.

The cutting is glued on board. The condition overall is good, despite numerous areas of fine cracking and minor losses. Several larger cracks are visible near the bottom (across the feet of the guard and the seated consul) and the top (one above the saint's head, another forking down between the consul and the guard). Smaller cracks have caused flaking in the gold ground at the corners, and a horizontal crease slightly above the center of the initial has resulted in further

NOTES:

1. On Sano di Pietro, see Gaillard 1923; Trübner 1925; and most recently Christiansen in New York 1988–89, pp. 138–39.
2. Torriti 1990, pp. 183–86.
3. Milanesi 1850, p. 242; Milanesi 1854–56, vol. 2, pp. 382–83. Milanesi's association (1850, p. 242) of this payment with Codex 107.13 in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo is supported neither by the manuscript's provenance (it is included in the 1900 inventory of books from the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala; see Gallavotti Cavallero 1985, p. 228) nor by the style of the two surviving illuminations, which are closely related to works from the 1460s. The manuscript Carli (1991, p. 37) mentions in conjunction with this payment, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, n. 122, cannot be traced.
4. Mazzoni in Florence 1982, pp. 454–502, ills. The Psalter was completed in 1463.
5. Christiansen in New York 1988–89, no. 21, color ills.
6. Carli 1993, pp. 118–23, n. 59.
7. Gallavotti Cavallero 1985, pp. 225–28, ill. See also Christiansen in New York 1988–89, pp. 160–63, no. 23, ill. (three cuttings probably from the same set).
8. Ciardi Dupré 1972, pp. 37–38, pls. 1–21.
9. Vatican City 1950, no. 22. Sano's work for Pius II in Pienza may account for the commission he received to illuminate the Vatican Cicero, which bears the arms of Gaspare da Sant'Angelo, an unidentified member of the Roman Curia who seems also to have been in possession of several manuscripts by Pius and was perhaps closely associated with the Piccolomini (see Avesani 1968, p. 75, n. 224).
10. Gaillard 1923, pp. 125–26, pl. 15.
11. Siena 1982, pp. 403–5, no. 145, ill.
12. Wormald and Giles 1982, pp. 504–6, pl. 63. See also Ciardi Dupré 1984, pp. 139–41.

flaking. Minor losses have been toned in, especially on the saint's right cheek, the hair on either side of her face, and the cheek of the tormentor at the far left.

PROVENANCE: [M. Drey, Munich (1914)]; Luigi Grassi, Florence; Marzell de Nemes (Nemes sale 1928, lot 103, ill. [as Sano di Pietro]);¹ Anton W. M. Mensing (Mensing sale 1937, lot 8, ill. [as attributed to Sano di Pietro]). Acquired by Robert Lehman through Harold Beenhouwer on 23 November 1937.

EXHIBITED: New York 1988–89, no. 22, ill. (as Sano di Pietro).

LITERATURE: Gaillard 1923, pp. 122–23, n. 1 (as Sano di Pietro).



Fig. 18.1 Sano di Pietro, *Saint Peter Visiting Saint Agatha in Prison in an Initial Q*. Cutting from an Antiphonary (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 90.L), fol. 23. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 124-3, p. 37 (detail). Photograph: Fotografia Lensini, Siena



Fig. 18.2 Sano di Pietro, *Saint Peter Enthroned in an Initial S*. Cutting from an Antiphonary (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 90.L), fol. 34. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 124-3, p. 45 (detail). Photograph: Fotografia Lensini, Siena



Fig. 18.3 Sano di Pietro, *Saint Peter as Pope in an Initial E*. Cutting from an Antiphonary (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 90.L), fol. 51. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 124-3, p. 47 (detail). Photograph: Fotografia Lensini, Siena

The orange initial D, decorated with white filigree penwork and a red spiraling acanthus pattern, is set against a square gold ground framed by an ochre border outlined in red ink. Light green foliage with yellow highlights winds along the lower edge of the initial, and along the upper edge a similar pattern of foliage in shades of blue highlighted with white curves sinuously back on itself to intertwine with the remnants of a decorated border. Inside the initial, as if seen through an oculus, is the receding view into a vaulted interior that serves as the setting for the martyrdom of Saint Agatha, a Christian virgin who was tortured and her breasts cut off when she refused the advances of the Roman consul Quintianus. The young martyr, disrobed to the waist and tied to a column, is shown stoically enduring her fate as a black-hooded executioner carries out his orders under the supervision of a guard and the consul himself, who sits on a throne flanked by his advisers. His lips



Fig. 18.4 Sano di Pietro, *The Annunciation in an Initial M*. Cutting from an Antiphonary (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 90.L), fol. 60. J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, Purchase, Art Museum Fund, 63.9

parted and his right hand pointed toward the executioner, Quintianus appears caught at the very moment of issuing his instructions.

Despite the gruesome subject matter, the luminous color harmonies and poised grace of the figures dominate the composition, producing an overriding impression of refined, courtly elegance. At center stage is the finely articulated figure of Saint Agatha, whose contrapposto stance lends her an air of quiet, noble dignity in the face of her tormentors. Her beauty is emphasized by the delicate coloring of her flesh and hair, as well as by the splendor of her pink and gold bordered silk robe, spilling to the ground in heavy folds that capture the light to reveal the green sheen of the material. The same pink, white, and pale green color scheme is repeated in the pattern of the receding floor tiles, and is echoed in the contrast between Agatha's pink dress and the green tunics of the guard and the torturer. Balanced color harmonies and a delicacy of execution also characterize the

figure of the consul Quintianus, shown not as a menacing brute but gracefully poised on the edge of his throne, wearing a light blue fur-trimmed mantle edged in gold over a raspberry-colored tunic and tights. The brilliant accents provided by the bearded adviser's canary yellow mantle and the guard's vivid orange and gilt shield further accentuate the precious quality of the image.

The Lehman illumination illustrates the text of the first nocturn response in Matins for the Feast of Saint Agatha (5 February): "Dum torqueretur beata Agatha . . ." (While blessed Agatha was being tortured). In 1988 Christiansen first proposed that it be identified with the missing folio 3 in Codex 90.L in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena, one of the volumes in the series of choir books illuminated by Sano di Pietro for the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala. A recent examination of this book, an Antiphonary covering the liturgical year from the Feast of Saint Agatha to that of the Apparition of Saint Michael (8 May) – and including the Common of Apostles and Martyrs in Paschaltide – reveals that it originally contained seventeen illuminations by Sano, of which only five decorated letters remain in situ.² The Lehman *Saint Agatha* is the first of twelve missing illuminations. Seven others, previously unpublished, are located in an album of miscellaneous cuttings from various sources in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena (Cod. 124-3),³ and an eighth is in the collection of the J. B. Speed Art Museum in Louisville, Kentucky.⁴ Together, these nine fragments allow for a nearly complete reconstruction of Codex 90.L, as follows (see Figs. 18.1–18.8):

folio 11: *Altar Table in an Initial M* ("Mentem sanctam spontaneam honorem deo et patrie liberatio[n]es [sic]" [She had a holy and generous soul, gave honor to God, and accomplished the liberation of her country]), antiphon of the Magnificat for the Feast of Saint Agatha (5 February).⁵

[folio 3]: *Martyrdom of Saint Agatha in an Initial D* ("Dum torqueretur beata Agatha . . ." [While blessed Agatha was being tortured]), response of the first nocturn in Matins for the Feast of Saint Agatha; Robert Lehman Collection (No. 18).

[folio 23]: *Saint Peter Visiting Saint Agatha in Prison in an Initial Q* ("Qui es tu qui venisti ad me curare vulnera mea?" [Who are you, who have come to me to heal my wounds?]), first antiphon at Lauds for the Feast of Saint Agatha; Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena (Cod. 124-3, p. 37).



Fig. 18.5 Sano di Pietro, *God the Father and the Archangel Gabriel in an Initial M*. Cutting from an Antiphonary (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 90.L), fol. 77. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 124-3, p. 51 (detail). Photograph: Fotografia Lensini, Siena



Fig. 18.6 Sano di Pietro, *Two Saints in an Initial B*. Cutting from an Antiphonary (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 90.L), fol. 86. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 124-3, p. 61 (detail). Photograph: Fotografia Lensini, Siena



Fig. 18.7 Sano di Pietro, *Saint James in an Initial T*. Cutting from an Antiphonary (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 90.L), fol. 111. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 124-3, p. 4 (detail). Photograph: Fotografia Lensini, Siena



Fig. 18.8 Sano di Pietro, *Saint John on Patmos Visited by Seven Angels in an Initial L*. Cutting from an Antiphonary (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 90.L), fol. 154. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, Cod. 124-3, p. 55 (detail). Photograph: Fotografia Lensini, Siena



Fig. 18.9 Sano di Pietro, *The Purification of the Virgin in an Initial S*. Libreria Piccolomini, Siena, Cod. 27-11, fol. 34v (detail). Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York



Fig. 18.10 Sano di Pietro, *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist in an Initial D*. Libreria Piccolomini, Siena, Cod. 27-11, fol. 103v (detail). Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York

[folio 34]: *Saint Peter Enthroned in an Initial S* ("Symon petre, antequam de navi vocarem te, novi te" [Simon Peter, before I called you away from your boat, I knew you]), first response of the first nocturn in Matins for the Feast of the Chair of Saint Peter (22 February); Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena (Cod. 124-3, p. 45).

[folio 51]: *Saint Peter as Pope in an Initial E* ("Ecce sacerdos magnus" [Behold a great priest]), first antiphon at Lauds for the Feast of the Chair of Saint Peter; Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena (Cod. 124-3, p. 47).

[folio 60]: *The Annunciation in an Initial M* ("Missus est gabriel angelus ad mariam virginem" [The angel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary]), second response of the first nocturn in Matins for the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March); J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville (63.9).

[folio 77]: *God the Father and the Archangel Gabriel in an Initial M* ("Missus est gabriel angelus ad mariam

virginem" [The angel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary]), first antiphon at Lauds for the Feast of the Annunciation; Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena (Cod. 124-3, p. 51).

folio 84v: *Pelican in an Initial L* ("Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis tui domine" [Perpetual light shall shine upon your saints, O Lord]), antiphon of the Magnificat for the Common of Apostles and Evangelists in Paschaltide.

[folio 86]: *Two Saints in an Initial B* ("Beatus vir, qui metuit Dominum" [Happy is the man who fears the Lord]), second response of the first nocturn in Matins for the Common of Apostles and Evangelists; Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena (Cod. 124-3, p. 61).

[folio 98]: *Martyr Saint in an Initial S* ("Sancti tui, Domine, floreunt sicut lilium" [Your saints, O Lord, shall flourish like the lily]), first antiphon at Lauds for the Common of One or Several Martyrs in Paschaltide; whereabouts unknown.

[folio 111]: *Saint James in an Initial T* ("Tristitia vestra convertetur in gaudium, alleluia" [Your sorrow shall be turned into joy, alleluia]), second response of the first nocturn for the Feast of Saints Philip and James, Common of Apostles and Evangelists (1 May, according to the old calendar); Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena (Cod. 124-3, p. 4).

[folio 123]: *Saint Philip or Saints Philip and James in an Initial D* ("Domine ostende nobis Patrem" [Lord show us the Father]), second antiphon at Lauds for the Feast of Saints Philip and James; whereabouts unknown.

folio 130v: *Pelican in an Initial G* ("Gloriosum diem sacra veneratur ecclesia" [The Holy Church venerates the glorious day]), second response of the first nocturn for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (3 May).⁶

[folio 143]: *Saint Helen(?)*; whereabouts unknown.⁷

folio 150v: *Illuminated Initial I* ("In ferventis olei dolium missus, Joannes Apostolus, divina se protegente gratia, illaesus exivit" [When John the Apostle was placed into the cauldron of hot oil he emerged unharmed because protected by divine grace]), antiphon of the Magnificat for the Feast of Saint John Before the Lateran Gate (6 May).

[folio 154]: *Saint John on Patmos Visited by Seven Angels in an Initial L* ("Locutus est ad me unus ex septem angelis dicens venio" [One of the seven angels came to me, saying, Come]), second response of the first nocturn for the Feast of the Apparition of Saint Michael (8 May); Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena (Cod. 124-3, p. 55).⁸

folio 172r: *Pelican and Butterfly in an Initial S* ("Stetit angelus iuxta aram templi, habens thuribulum aureum in manu sua" [The angel stood next to the temple altar holding the golden censer in his hand]), first antiphon at Lauds for the Feast of the Apparition of Saint Michael.

Since none of the payments registered to Sano in 1463 and in 1473 for unspecified illuminations in the choir books of Santa Maria della Scala refer to particular volumes,⁹ the execution of the miniatures in Codex 90.L, which is undated, has been generally placed by Christiansen between 1456 and 1476, during the rectorship of Niccolò Ricoveri, who commissioned the entire series.¹⁰ A more precise date may be obtained, however,

through a comparison of the illuminations in Codex 90.L with those executed by Sano in 1471-72 in the Gradual for Siena Cathedral (Libreria Piccolomini, Siena, Cod. 27-11). Within Sano's miniature production, these works are the closest in terms of coloristic effects, spatial handling, and overall refinement of execution. As in Codex 90.L, the most remarkable aspect of the Gradual illuminations, beyond the luminous palette, is the manner in which Sano's narrative genius succeeds in exploiting the spatial constraints of the initial to create a clearly articulated stage on which the principal protagonists of the sacred drama are brought vividly before us, as in the *Purification of the Virgin* on folio 34v (Fig. 18.9) or the *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* on folio 103v (Fig. 18.10). Further comparisons may be drawn between the handling of the standing figures in Codex 90.L, such as the Lehman *Saint Agatha*, and those in the Gradual, which are similarly shown in sharp contrapposto, with heavily falling draperies parting to reveal the soft contours of the body and echoing the gentle curves of foliate borders and initials. The result is that calculated contrast between simple, narrative restraint and exquisite, courtly elegance that characterizes the decoration of both volumes, suggesting a virtually contemporary date for their execution and therefore placing Codex 90.L among the last books illuminated by Sano for Santa Maria della Scala.

PP

NOTES:

1. According to Gaillard (1923, pp. 122-23, n. 1), the cutting was owned by M. Drey in 1914 and thereafter by Luigi Grassi. In 1986 Levi D'Ancona noted that it was included in the Nemes sale catalogue in 1928.
2. The codex contains 209 leaves measuring 590 by 410 millimeters; the stave height is 43 millimeters. On the verso of the first unpaginated folio is a description of the volume with an index of feasts:

ANTIPHONARIUM A S. AGATHE USQUE AD S. MICH.
ARCHANG[E]LUS COMM. SS. APOSTOLI ET MARTIRIUM
TEMPO[RE] PASCHALI

IN FESTO S. AGATHE I
IN CATHEDRA S. PETRI XXX
COMM. S. PAULI XXI
IN FESTO ANUNCIATIO B.V.M. LVII
IN FESTO SS. APOSTO. LXXXV
IN FESTO SS. MART. TE[M]P. PAS. LXXXVIII
COMM. DE CRUCE CVIII
IN FESTO SS. APOSTO. PHILIP. ET JA. CVIII
IN FESTO EXALTA. S. CRUC. CXXVII
IN FESTO S. J[OH]AN[N]S ANTE PORT. LATI. CLI
IN FEST. PPE S. MICH. ARCHA. CLII

3. This album was first referred to by Alessi (1984, p. 195, n. 35), followed by Christiansen (in New York 1988–89, p. 163), as a possible source for many of the missing illuminations in the hospital choir books. It contains thirty-four full-page cuttings, most of them by Sano di Pietro, Pellegrino di Mariano, and Benvenuto di Giovanni, that were excised from different volumes at an unknown date. A label glued to page 3 says that the Siene government bought the album back in 1869 at an auction in London, probably of the property of John Henry Backhouse, whose ex libris appears on the same page. The cuttings excised from Codex 90.L are identifiable as much by the presence of the original folio number in the right margin of the recto as by their correspondence in style, dimensions, and stave height.
4. Illustrated by Christiansen in New York 1988–89, p. 163, fig. 1, and tentatively associated with the hospital series of choir books, but not with Codex 90.L.
5. The text of this antiphon refers to the inscription on a marble tablet that was mysteriously placed at the head of the saint's sarcophagus shortly after her death, as recounted in the *Golden Legend* (Jacobus de Voragine [ca. 1260] 1993, vol. 1, p. 156).
6. The Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross was traditionally celebrated on 14 September, but as is stated in a rubric on folio 127 of Codex 90.L, "in the eighth year of his pontificate" Gregory XI (r. 1370–78) ordered that it should instead be celebrated with the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross (3 May). The same passage also tells us that this bull was later confirmed by Nicholas V (r. 1447–55).
7. Folio 142v ends with the last response of the second nocturn at Matins for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross: "Tunc manifesta erunt abscondita cordis nostri alle[luia]" (Then will the hidden things of our hearts be made manifest alleluia). The missing illumination on folio 143 should thus illustrate the second response of the third nocturn or the antiphon at Lauds for the same feast.
8. The illustration refers to the vision of Saint Michael that Saint John had while in exile on the island of Patmos, as recounted in his Book of Revelation (12:7–9). The text is adapted from Revelation 17:1.
9. Gallavotti Cavallero 1985, p. 429, doc. 360, p. 433, doc. 477.
10. Christiansen in New York 1988–89, p. 158.

Francesco di Giorgio

Siena 1439–Siena 1501/2

Equally accomplished as a painter, sculptor, architect, and military engineer, Francesco di Giorgio was the outstanding artistic personality in Siena in the second half of the fifteenth century. Virtually nothing is known of his training, although it is commonly assumed that he was a pupil of Vecchietta, whose mature production both in painting and sculpture is often confused with that of the younger artist. Whether or not Francesco was actually trained in Vecchietta's studio, documentary evidence suggests that he was associated with him early in his career. The first known mention of Francesco after a baptismal record of 1439, in fact, is in a recently discovered document dated 1460 in the Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena, where it is stated that Francesco, Vecchietta, and Vecchietta's other pupil, Benvenuto di Giovanni, were indebted to the Opera for a joint purchase of grain.¹

Francesco's earliest documented works, both datable to the year 1464, are a cassone panel with the Triumph of Chastity in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles,²

and a lifesize polychrome wood figure of Saint John the Baptist in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.³ To this nucleus of early works may be added a dated *biccherna* cover of 1467 in the Archivio di Stato, Siena,⁴ and two altarpieces in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, that are his only other securely datable paintings: the *Coronation of the Virgin* painted in 1472–74 for the monastery of Monteoliveto Maggiore,⁵ and the *Nativity* painted in 1475–76 for the monastery of San Benedetto, outside Porta Tufi.⁶

All these works, while on the surface clearly indebted to the example of Vecchietta, reflect Francesco's awareness of the outside influences that had a strong impact on Siene art and culture in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. This was a period marked by the presence in Siena of Donatello, who resided in the city from 1457 to 1459, and of two northern artists, Liberale da Verona and Girolamo da Cremona, who worked on the choir books of the cathedral between 1468 and 1475. It is an indication of Francesco di Giorgio's particular



No. 19

genius that he was able to integrate the formal and spatial innovations of these various artists into his own distinctive idiom.

The early phase of Francesco's career was also marked by his professional relationship with another Sienese artist, Neroccio de Landi, with whom he entered into a partnership in 1469. By the time this partnership was legally dissolved in 1475, Francesco may already have entered the employ of Duke Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino. From at least 1477 until his death in 1501/2, Francesco lived only intermittently in Siena, and except

for a few paintings and sculptural commissions in the 1490s, he dedicated his talents mostly to architectural and engineering projects for the duke and his successor, as well as for the Sienese government.

NOTES:

1. Zarrilli 1993, p. 530.
2. Fredericksen 1969, pp. 17–22.
3. Bagnoli in Siena 1993, pp. 192–95, no. 24, color ill.
4. Borgia et al. 1984, p. 170, no. 65.
5. De Marchi in Siena 1993, pp. 300–305, no. 56, color ill.
6. Angelini in Siena 1993, pp. 314–17, no. 61, color ill.

Francesco di Giorgio

ca. 1470–75

19. Saint Bernardino Preaching from a Pulpit

1975.I.2474

Verso: blank.

Tempera on parchment. 210 x 143 mm, inside frame 200 x 140 mm. Annotated in imitation Gothic script on the verso: PERICINO [BERNARDINO?] [F]ECIT LAURENTIUS VECCHIETT; added later in pencil at right center: 16 (circled), and at center bottom: 2 (circled).

The miniature was trimmed along the bottom and the left edge. The parchment is buckled and the surface of the image slightly abraded, and the background and border are entirely overpainted. A thick coat of dull blue applied in uneven patches covers brilliant blue, which is visible in the areas where the paint has flaked off. A third, darker shade of blue was used to reinforce the outlines of the figure. Losses along the red border, especially in the lower right corner, also reveal the original layer of brilliant red beneath. The lines defining the vertical and horizontal base of the pulpit have been scored with a stylus. Pricking holes along the left edge may be sewing stations, which may indicate that the cutting was originally bound, although the presence of small wormholes and glue residue on the verso is evidence that it may subsequently have been mounted on a panel.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Munich(?); [Leo S. Olschki, Florence]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Olschki in summer 1929.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 181, pl. 74 (as Vecchietta); Cincinnati 1959, no. 325 (as Vecchietta); Atlanta 1973–74, no. 66.

LITERATURE: Van Marle 1931, p. 173, pl. 14 (as Vecchietta(?)); De Ricci 1937, p. 1712 (as *Saint Francis Preaching*, presumably by Vecchietta); Van Marle 1937, p. 212 (as Vecchietta); Vigni 1937, p. 89 (as school of Vecchietta); Lehman 1962 (as Vecchietta); Berenson 1968, vol. 1, p. 445 (as Vecchietta); Mode 1973, p. 71 (as Vecchietta); Szabo 1983, fig. 24 (as Vecchietta).

Saint Bernardino of Siena, immediately recognizable by his distinctive physiognomy and the characteristic brown habit of the Franciscan order, is shown standing in a simple wooden pulpit, his left hand raised in an oratorical gesture. His head slightly bent and turned in three-quarter profile, he appears to be addressing an invisible audience seated below him, outside the picture. The blue background (originally much brighter) and the strong light source that illuminates the front plane of the pulpit suggest an outdoor setting.



Fig. 19.1 Infrared reflectography of detail of Francesco di Giorgio, *Saint Bernardino Preaching from a Pulpit* (No. 19)



No. 19, detail

Fra Bernardino degli Albizzeschi, who died in 1444 and was canonized by Nicholas V in 1450, was one of the most famous personalities of his day.² Born in 1380 in Massa Marittima, near Siena, he joined the Observant branch of the Franciscan order in 1402, and in 1405, after two years of formal training, was officially appointed a preacher. His sermons, covering a wide range of subjects and delivered in a simple vernacular style intended to appeal to a general audience, attracted a large following throughout Italy, making him the object of a well-established cult even before his canonization. Especially in Siena, where Bernardino began his career and preached regularly and where every major institution and confraternity could boast of an allegiance to him, the news of his death instigated an immediate wave

of commissions for works of art in his honor that provided an iconographic repertory for his representation well into the sixteenth century.

Most of the paintings of Bernardino by artists who could have known him or remembered him personally are essentially variations of the earliest documented work (Fig. 19.2), a full-length likeness executed by Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio for the Osservanza, the church Bernardino founded on the outskirts of Siena.³ Signed and dated 1444, the year of Bernardino's death, this image was the first to record, in the dry, linear idiom that is Pietro di Giovanni's hallmark, the essential characteristics of the preacher's physiognomy: the small spare figure, the straight thin neck above the wide cowl, the hollow cheeks (owing to his privations, Bernardino

had lost all his teeth by the time he was forty), the pointed chin, and the deep-set, myopic brown eyes.

Pietro di Giovanni's stylized portrait of Bernardino, in which the preacher is also shown holding his principal attribute, a radiant disk bearing the symbol of the name of Jesus (the IHS monogram), became the archetype for the innumerable images of the saint produced into the third quarter of the fifteenth century by other Sienese artists such as Sano di Pietro, Giovanni di Paolo, and Vecchietta.⁴ In all these works the same ascetic type, haloed or with the rays of the blessed, is shown standing and gazing outward, holding either the radiant disk, as in Pietro di Giovanni's image, or the tablet with the same symbol that the preacher would display to his audience during his sermons. Also included in some instances, as in Pietro di Giovanni's painting of Bernardino in the Museo Civico in Lucignano (dated 1448)⁵ or Sano di Pietro's fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena,⁶ is the saint's other attribute, the three bishop's miters that symbolize the titles he refused during his lifetime.

While the physiognomic type of the Lehman *Saint Bernardino* recalls established Sienese formula, the highly naturalistic approach to the rendering of forms and facial expression places it in a category of its own. Despite the thinly painted surface and losses in the background, the small image possesses a powerful immediacy that is due primarily to the strength of the underlying drawing. This is especially noticeable in the execution of the saint's head, which is conceived as an actual portrait rather than as an iconic type (see detail). As is clearly visible through infrared examination (see Fig. 19.1), subtle gradations of flesh tones and white highlights provide volume and structure, while the meticulous study and rendering of the individual features – from the small, bulging eyes with brilliant pupils set deep in dark sockets, to the folds of the skin with its tiny pink veins, to the delicate wisps of thinning white hair – communicate both age and character.

The same rational approach is extended to the treatment of the wooden pulpit, which is meant to recall the rudimentary, temporary structures that were specially built for Bernardino's outdoor sermons, and that are depicted in the base of a panel from the workshop of Sassetta in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (Fig. 19.3),⁷ and in Sano di Pietro's two paintings in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena – one showing the saint preaching before the Palazzo Pubblico, the other depicting him preaching in front of the church of San



Fig. 19.2 Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio, *Saint Bernardino*. Church of the Osservanza, Siena. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York



Fig. 19.3 Workshop of Sassetta, *Saint Bernardino*. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, 205. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York

Francesco (Fig. 19.4).⁸ Viewed *di sotto in su*, as if from the viewpoint of an audience seated below, the pulpit is precisely rendered in every detail, from the small nail heads punctuating the top and bottom edges to the knots in the individually articulated planks of wood. The vivid quality of the image is enhanced by the powerful light source that illuminates it from the left, bathing the front plane of the pulpit in sunlight and casting shadows over the saint's features and habit.

The unique character of the Lehman *Saint Bernardino* is further reflected in its unusual composition. Other Sienese images of the saint in the act of preaching, in fact, repeat the model of Sano di Pietro's two panels (see

Fig. 19.4), and as in the examples by Neroccio de Landi in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena,⁹ and by Vecchietta (or his workshop) in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool,¹⁰ show him standing in front of a building and before a visibly large crowd. The only composition that compares to the Lehman cutting in its focus on the preacher and pulpit alone is a little-known panel ascribed to an anonymous follower of Neroccio in the Pinacoteca Civica, Camerino;¹¹ the rigid frontality of the haloed figure in this painting, however, and the formality of his gesture as he enumerates the three salient points of his sermon on the Christ monogram with one hand while pointing to the tablet above him with the other, ultimately place it in the same category as other essentially iconic images of the standing saint.

Since Robert Lehman acquired it in 1929, the *Saint Bernardino* miniature has been recognized as unquestionably Sienese and attributed either to Vecchietta or to an anonymous follower. Such an attribution finds no confirmation, however, among the many paintings of Bernardino that may be securely ascribed to Vecchietta,



Fig. 19.4 Sano di Pietro, *Saint Bernardino Preaching in the Piazza San Francesco* (detail). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York



Fig. 19.5 Vecchietta, *Saint Bernardino*. Detail of outside panel of *Armadio delle reliquie*. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, 204. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York

all of which reflect, to a greater or lesser extent, the stylized, formulaic images developed from Pietro di Giovanni's prototype. Even in the most vivid of Vecchietta's paintings of the saint, on the outside panel of the *Armadio delle reliquie* in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (Fig. 19.5),¹² the graphic articulation of the forms and iconic rigidity stand in marked contrast to the rounder, softer contours and subtle modulations of light and color that distinguish the Lehman miniature.

The closest point of reference for the Lehman *Saint Bernardino* is instead to be found in the early production of Vecchietta's most gifted follower in Siena, Francesco di Giorgio. In particular, those paintings Francesco executed between around 1470 and 1475, prior to his departure for Urbino, provide a direct source for the expressive and formal concerns reflected in the Lehman cutting. In Francesco di Giorgio's *Annunciazione* in the



Fig. 19.6 Francesco di Giorgio, *The Annunciation*. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena, 277. Photograph: Fotografia Lensini, Siena

Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (Fig. 19.6), for example, which is datable to about 1470, one can discern, beneath a similarly transparent layer of pigment, the same meticulous attention to the definition of form through a combination of nervous, delicately incisive lines that articulate the individual facial features and folds of skin and rapid hatching strokes and painted shadow that provide volume and bone structure.¹³ Further points of comparison are to be found in the overall gentle expression and quiet grace of the figures and the characteristic warm flush that illuminates their faces, in the thinly drawn and brightly colored lips and heavy-lidded, softly shadowed eyes with their brilliant pupils, and above all in the finely drawn hands, with the long, sensitive fingers and curving thumbs that are the signature of the artist.

The same figure types and formal concerns that establish Francesco di Giorgio's authorship of the Lehman cutting appear even more pronounced in two other nearly contemporary works also painted on parchment: a small *Nativity* (Fig. 19.7) in an Antiphonary from



Fig. 19.7 Francesco di Giorgio, *The Nativity in an Initial N*. Antiphonary from Monteoliveto Maggiore, Siena, fol. 3v (detail). Museo della Cattedrale, Chiusi, Cod. B. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York

Monteoliveto Maggiore, Siena, now in the Museo della Cattedrale, Chiusi (Cod. B), that can reasonably be dated on circumstantial grounds to 1472 or 1473;¹⁴ and a beautiful frontispiece (Fig. 19.8) in a recently identified manuscript of sonnets in praise of the Siennese noblewoman Bianca Saracini in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence (Palatino 211), that is datable on internal evidence to about 1473.¹⁵ This last image, in particular, bears a striking resemblance to the Lehman *Saint Bernardino* in composition and format, since it is articulated in a rectangular field of nearly equal dimensions with an azurite background (which, coincidentally, has also been repainted) framed by red borders. In the treatment of the elegant figure of Bianca Saracini floating above the city of Siena, moreover, we find virtually identical formal details, such as the extended hand with the same delicate wrist and long, pointed fingers with curved thumb; the same light palette dominated by warm flesh tones and subtle transitions of light and shadow; and the same general quality of measured restraint. The

close affinity between the two images suggests not only a contemporary date for their execution but also a similar provenance. The Lehman miniature could conceivably have served as the frontispiece for a manuscript of the same genre, possibly a luxury edition of hymns in honor of Saint Bernardino on the model of the *Rotulo Bernardiniano* formerly in the Palmieri-Nuti collection in Siena, a mid-fifteenth-century codex containing fifteen poems lamenting Bernardino's death. The *Rotulo Bernardiniano* opens with a full-length image of the saint borne aloft by two angels and holding the Christ monogram and a book, with the three bishop's miters at his feet.¹⁶ Although the two miniatures are otherwise unrelated stylistically or iconographically, the painted rays around the saint's head in the *Rotulo Bernardiniano* may provide an explanation for the unique lack of them in

the Lehman cutting. Had there been such rays in the Lehman miniature, they would have been completely lost in the extensive repainting of the background.

The Lehman *Saint Bernardino* thus finds a place among an early body of works on parchment that Francesco di Giorgio executed for a select and growing market in Siena, works that include, besides the Bianca Saracini manuscript, the frontispiece in the copy of Albertus Magnus' *De animalibus* that was commissioned in 1463 by the famous Siennese doctor Alessandro Sermoneta (Museo Aurelio Castelli, Siena);¹⁷ the mysterious portrait in the Robert Lehman Collection (1975.1.376), generally identified as a design for a wall monument but possibly the frontispiece to a codex;¹⁸ and a previously unattributed portrait of Pius II, markedly similar in execution to the Lehman *Saint Bernardino*, in a border medallion in an edition of Pius' letters in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Vat. lat. 6941, fol. 1), that was commissioned during Pius' pontificate (1458–64) by the Siennese jurist and senator to Rome Ludovico Petroni.¹⁹

PP



Fig. 19.8 Francesco di Giorgio, *Bianca Saracini Above the City of Siena*. *Capitolo ternario in lode di Bianca Saracini*, fol. 1. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Palatino 211

NOTES:

1. Van Marle (1931) first published this *Saint Bernardino* as in a private collection in Munich. An undated, unsigned note in the Robert Lehman Collection files reports that Robert Lehman purchased the miniature from Olschki in the summer of 1929.
2. On *Saint Bernardino*, see Origo 1963.
3. Mode 1973, fig. 16; Pavone and Pacelli 1981, fig. 6.
4. See, for example, Pavone and Pacelli 1981, figs. 7, 15, 16–19, 47.
5. *Ibid.*, fig. 14.
6. *Ibid.*, fig. 24.
7. *Ibid.*, fig. 93.
8. Mode 1973, figs. 11, 12.
9. *Ibid.*, fig. 13; Pavone and Pacelli 1981, fig. 92.
10. For the controversial attributional history of this panel, variously given to Vecchietta, Benvenuto di Giovanni, and most recently Francesco di Giorgio, see Bellosi in Siena 1993, pp. 110–11, no. 10.
11. Pavone and Pacelli 1981, fig. 94.
12. *Ibid.*, fig. 7.
13. Angelini in Siena 1993, pp. 296–97, no. 54, color ill.
14. Kanter in New York 1988–89, pp. 322–23, no. 66, color ill.
15. De Marchi in Siena 1993, pp. 262–65, no. 43, color ill.
16. Pavone and Pacelli 1981, fig. 15. The dimensions of the miniature in the *Rotulo* (220 x 120 mm) are also not far from those of the Lehman cutting. Interestingly enough, Lusini, who first published the *Rotulo* in 1929, also mentions in his article (p. 167) a seventeenth-century manuscript he consulted in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, that

includes, among other miscellaneous texts, a transcription of a few poems in honor of Saint Bernardino, copied from “un piccolo libretto in quarto, che si conserva nell’Archivio dello Spedale tra le cose spettanti al Comune di Siena” (a small booklet in quarto, which is kept in the archive of the hospital among the things belonging to the Sienese Comune). Lusini was not able to trace this booklet, but it is worth speculating whether it also contained an illumination of Bernardino, or if the Lehman cutting was actually excised from it.

17. Angelini in Siena 1993, pp. 142–45, no. 10, color ill.

18. Kanter in New York 1988–89, pp. 325–27, no. 68, color ill.; Forlani Tempesti 1991, pp. 202–7, no. 70, color ill. That the figure in the drawing is intended to be read as an actual portrait is suggested as much by his dress, which is that of a scholar or jurist, as by the naturalistic handling of the image. The heavyset features and rounded head re-

call, in particular, the portrait medal by Francesco di Giorgio of the Sienese jurist and diplomat Borghese Borghesi (1414–1490) in the Bargello, Florence (Pollard 1984, no. 80). One of the most influential politicians of his day, Borghese was ambassador to the courts of Pius II and Paul II, was knighted in 1479 by the duke of Calabria for his diplomatic assistance in the war against Florence, and was granted the title of Pater Patriae by the Sienese Republic, which at his death spent the lavish sum of 200 florins on his funeral (see Gennaro 1970).

19. Van Heck 1991, ill. opposite p. 1. That the illumination depicts Pius as cardinal of Santa Sabina should be interpreted as a reference to the period during which he composed the letters and not as indicative of the date of the manuscript. This is confirmed by the inscription on the same folio: *ENAES PIUS SENENSIS PAPA SECUNDUS*. See Strnad 1968, p. 315, n. 78.

Maestro Daddesco

Florence, active first half of the fourteenth century

The anonymous artist conventionally known as the Maestro Daddesco is universally recognized as one of the most significant and prolific manuscript illuminators active in Florence in the first half of the fourteenth century. Yet the full range of his oeuvre and the precise period of his activity remain as elusive today as they were forty years ago, when he was first individuated and christened by Salmi, who considered him a close follower of Bernardo Daddi (d. 1348).¹ More recent scholarship is divided between those who follow Salmi in dating the artist’s activity to the second third of the fourteenth century² (although seeking to minimize the specific influence of Daddi on the development of his style),³ and those who would rather confine his career to between 1310 and no later than 1330, suggesting that he might be more appropriately considered a contemporary, if not a precursor, of Bernardo Daddi.⁴

The Maestro Daddesco’s activity may be reconstructed primarily on the basis of the illuminations he executed in five volumes – four Graduals and an Antiphonary – from a series of choir books produced for the Badia di San Salvatore a Settimo, near Florence, and now divided

between the conventual library of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome (Cor. A, B, C, D), and the Museo dello Spedale degli Innocenti, Florence (Cod. CXXXIX.1). This series also includes an additional four Antiphonaries in Florence (Cod. CXXXIX.2–5), two of which (Cod. CXXXIX.2 and 4) were illuminated by an earlier, unidentified hand.⁵ It is generally accepted that all nine volumes were executed, possibly in two phases, over a period of about forty years between 1315, the date inscribed in a colophon of Gradual D in Rome, and 1351, the date recorded in the explicit of Codex CXXXIX.5 in Florence.⁶ Within the parameters of these dates, the specific chronology of the Maestro Daddesco’s intervention remains the subject of divergent opinions, resulting from the different interpretations of the date 1315 recorded in Gradual D in Rome – a book which also contains historiated initials by the Master of the Codex of Saint George and by an unknown earlier artist working in the sphere of the Master of Saint Cecilia.⁷ Taken by some authors to refer to both the decoration and writing of the text,⁸ this date has been considered by others to be simply a terminus post quem for the execution of the illuminations, which

are dated, on both circumstantial and stylistic grounds, to different periods, ranging from 1315 to 1320 for the earliest miniatures by the unidentified hand and the Master of the Codex of Saint George, to as late as 1340 to 1350 for those by the Maestro Daddesco.⁹

The Badia a Settimo illuminations, characterized by a fluid narrative style in which elegantly poised figures defined by simple outlines and minutely observed features inhabit lucid spatial settings, represent the full articulation of the Maestro Daddesco's idiom. The roots of such a style are to be found as much in the Sienese pictorial tradition, the influence of which has often caused the master's work to be taken as Sienese, as in the courtly vocabulary of the Master of the Codex of Saint George. The stylistic affinities of the Maestro Daddesco's work with that of the Master of the Codex of Saint George, especially noticeable in the precision of the forms and minute attention to detail, have in fact led to the definition of his personality as that of a "Master of the Codex of Saint George in a minor key."¹⁰ At the same time, the overriding formulaic nature of the Maestro Daddesco's figures and the measured quality of his compositions have little in common with the work of the Master of the Codex of Saint George, and betray stronger links to the more classicizing Giottesque vocabulary of Bernardo Daddi, suggesting that he may indeed have been a slightly older contemporary of the latter.

PP

NOTES:

1. Salmi 1954, pp. 25–26.
2. Guidotti 1979; Guidotti in Florence 1990, pp. 102–5; Kanter in New York 1994–95, pp. 8–9, 106–7.
3. Kanter (in New York 1994–95, p. 8) prefers to emphasize the influence of Pacino di Bonaguida on the Maestro Daddesco's "pictographic narrative style."
4. Chelazzi Dini 1979; Boskovits 1984, pp. 44–48. Boskovits (1995, pp. 379, 382–83, n. 7) calls him a "compagno di strada" of Bernardo Daddi.
5. For the Graduals in Rome, see Boskovits 1984, pp. 224–25, 248–50, pls. 85, 86, 98, 99; and Guidotti in Florence 1990, pp. 102–5, ill. (on Gradual D, with previous bibliography). For the Antiphonaries in Florence, see Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg 1977, pp. 250–54, nos. 206–9, pls. 194–224. In 1977 Codex cxxxix.3 was believed to be missing, but as Levi D'Ancona has pointed out, Guidotti reported in 1979 (p. 421, n. 10) that it was in the archives of the Innocenti, extensively damaged. Offner (1956, pp. 185–86) attributed the illuminations in Codices cxxxix.2 and cxxxix.4 to the workshop of Pacino di Bonaguida.
6. For the inscription, see Guidotti 1979, pp. 421, 422, nn. 10, 14.
7. For the attribution of this earlier hand, generally recognized as Pacinesque, to the circle of the Master of Saint Cecilia, see Boskovits 1984, pp. 137–38.
8. See *ibid.*, pp. 137–38, n. 3, 224–25.
9. See Guidotti in Florence 1990, pp. 102–4, and Kanter in New York 1994–95, pp. 106–7 (both with a summary of others' opinions). Primarily on circumstantial evidence, Kanter dates all of the Maestro Daddesco's work for the Badia a Settimo to between 1339 and 1350.
10. Bellosi 1974, pp. 78, 103, n. 48.

Maestro Daddesco(?)

ca. 1310–15

20. The Annunciation in an Initial M
Cutting from an Antiphonary

1975.1.2478

Verso: two 4-line staves (stave height 34 mm) with two lines of fragmentary text: "ns. a[ntiphona]. Sic[ut] mir / e[m] dedisti suavi," the initial S of "Sicut" blue with red penwork decoration.

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 136 x 134 mm.

The miniature has been trimmed to the outer edge of the initial ground and around the protruding foliate extensions. It is generally in fine condition. There are some losses in the gold and in the orange mantle of the angel, showing traces of the brown ink underdrawing. The burnished gold is abraded in areas, revealing whitish gray gesso preparation below. Patches of abrasion across Gabriel's knee and calf correspond to the ruling on the verso. The cutting was once

mounted on board, and the verso shows some losses in the blue of the large S, with paper residue overall.

PROVENANCE: Madame X sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 6 December 1926, lot 47, pl. 5 (as Tuscan, fourteenth century);¹ [Altounian, Mâcon].

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 177, pl. 72 (as Sienese master, mid-fourteenth century); Cincinnati 1959, no. 320, ill. (as Sienese master, mid-fourteenth century); Atlanta 1973–74, no. 15, fig. 3 (as Siena, mid-fourteenth century); New York 1994–95, no. 10, color ill. (as Maestro Daddesco).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1704 (as Florence or Siena, ca. 1340); Lehman 1962, p. 23 (as Pacino di Bonaguida); Szabo 1983, fig. 22 (as Sienese master); Boskovits 1995, p. 382, n. 7 (as Maestro Daddesco).

The scene of the Annunciation is set against a deep blue background inside a large letter M painted rose, gray, and yellow and entwined with olive green, orange, and blue stylized foliage highlighted with white filigree ornament. A bright orange border frames the square burnished gold ground of the initial. To the left of the central stem of the initial the angel Gabriel kneels on a rough wooden floor, his right hand raised in blessing and his left hand clasping a scepter. He is brightly clad in a vivid orange cloak over a light gray robe, and the feathers of his wings are defined by delicate gradations of color, ranging from white to gray to gray green to black. The Virgin Mary, wearing a soft blue gray mantle with a blue lining over a rose-colored dress, stands at the right, humbly receiving the angel's message with her head slightly bowed and her arms crossed over her chest.

The initial M begins the opening antiphon at Vespers for the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March): "Missus est Gabriel Angelus ad Mariam Virginem desponsatam Joseph" (The angel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary, who was betrothed to Joseph). The Lehman illumination was therefore excised from an Antiphonary, as is confirmed by the fragmentary text on its verso, which is the beginning of the antiphon for the first nocturn of the Feast of the Annunciation: "Sic[ut] mir[ra] electa odor[e]m dedisti suavi[tatis], sancta Dei Genitrix" (Like precious myrrh you gave forth an odor of sweetness, Holy Mother of God), a paraphrase of Ecclesiasticus 24:19–20.



No. 20, verso

Originally attributed to the Siennese school of the mid-fourteenth century, the Lehman cutting was first tentatively associated with the Florentine school by De Ricci, followed by Robert Lehman, who in the summary catalogue of his collection proposed a specific attribution to the painter and illuminator Pacino di Bonaguida. The latter suggestion finds no support in any of the known illuminations that may securely be attributed to Pacino and was not picked up in any of the subsequent literature, which returned to the original Siennese attribution. Levi D'Ancona was the first to suggest an attribution of the Lehman illumination to the Maestro Daddesco, an artist whose work, while clearly rooted in a Florentine tradition, does in fact occasionally betray a Siennese inflection.² Most recently, her identification was fully accepted by Boehm in the only comprehensive discussion to date of the Lehman cutting, included with the oeuvre of the Maestro Daddesco in the catalogue of the exhibition of Florentine painting and illumination held in New York in 1994–95.

While supported by a superficial similarity of formal and decorative elements, such as the foliate decoration and the dark blue ground edged with white penwork, the attribution of the Lehman illumination to the Maestro Daddesco is not without problems. Levi D'Ancona based her identification on a comparison of the Lehman illumination with Gradual D in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome (see Fig. 20.1), one of the choir books illuminated by the Maestro Daddesco for the Badia a Settimo.³ She further detected a close stylistic affinity between it and two cutout leaves (Figs. 20.2, 20.3) unanimously attributed to the Maestro Daddesco, one in London (Victoria and Albert Museum, MS 996 [810–1894]),⁴ the other in Paris (Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, no. 7),⁵ each representing two standing saints within a letter S, and proposed that all three illuminations may have been excised, if not from the same manuscript, from the same series of choir books executed for the Badia a Settimo. Although fully accepting Levi D'Ancona's attribution, Boehm convincingly demonstrated on both stylistic and codicological grounds that the Lehman cutting could not be associated with the London and Paris cuttings, nor could it have been excised from any of the surviving Badia a Settimo Antiphonaries, where the Feast of the Annunciation is already included in Codex CXXXIX.2.⁶ Boehm's efforts to locate the Lehman cutting within the remaining known oeuvre of the Maestro Daddesco proved unsuccessful, however, leading her to the conclusion that



No. 20, recto



Fig. 20.1 Maestro Daddesco, *The Annunciation to Zacharias in an Initial N*. Gradual from the Badia di San Salvatore a Settimo, fol. 172. Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, Cor. D. Photograph courtesy of Alessandro Guidotti

other dismembered manuscripts by the master have yet to be identified.

Despite efforts to discern the hallmarks of the master's style in the Lehman illumination, a closer scrutiny reveals in effect that it marks a significant departure from the artist's essentially formulaic idiom. Throughout the Badia a Settimo choir books and in all of the numerous other cuttings attributed to him, including the above-mentioned standing saints in London and in Paris, we encounter the same figural types uniformly characterized by rounded heads over slender, insubstantial bodies; faces with pronounced noses and almond-shaped eyes that curl upward at the outer corner; meticulously tidy hairstyles with every single strand painted in place; and small hands with delicate, pointed fingers. The figures in the Lehman illumination, on the other hand, are defined by less rigidly articulated, fuller bodies with narrower oval faces framed by loose locks of hair; thinner, pinched noses; and larger, more noticeably expressive hands – only the almond-shaped eyes and pale flesh tones seem to correspond to the Maestro Daddesco's signature types. Beyond these Morellian distinctions, the overall appearance of the image in the



Fig. 20.2 Maestro Daddesco, *Two Youthful Martyr Saints in an Initial S*. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, MS 996 (810-1894). Courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert



Fig. 20.3 Maestro Daddesco, *Two Youthful Martyr Saints in an Initial S*. Musée Marmottan, Paris, Wildenstein Collection, no. 7



Fig. 20.4 Saint Cecilia Master(?), *Saint Peter*. Altarpiece from San Pier Maggiore. San Simone, Florence. Photograph: Alinari/Art Resource, New York

Lehman illumination is marked by a hastier, at once broader and more painterly technique of execution that reveals a stronger affinity with the production of an older generation of painters more or less contemporary with the Master of Saint Cecilia and those artists who took their cue from the early work of Giotto at Assisi. Despite the difference in scale and medium, the overall handling of the Lehman cutting may be compared, in particular, to works such as the *Saint Peter* altarpiece from San Pier Maggiore and now in San Simone, Florence (Fig. 20.4), which is generally attributed to the

Saint Cecilia Master (in collaboration) or to a close follower.⁷ The two images share a similar canon of proportions and a freedom of execution that nevertheless does not preclude the clear indication of the corporeal solidity beneath the ample draperies. Also common to both works is the abstract yet solid rendering of the human body, with precise transitions from one plane or volume to the next defined by dark outlines and dramatic shadow, so that heads are reduced to almost perfect ovals and arms to tubular extensions that bend at the wrist. Such a similarity is not necessarily indicative of a common authorship, but it certainly suggests a shared visual vocabulary that is markedly more archaic than anything thus far associated with the Maestro Daddesco.

That said, it bears keeping in mind that the full extent of the Maestro Daddesco's work is not known, nor is there any clear agreement about the beginning of his career. Boskovits has recently proposed identifying the Maestro Daddesco's hand in the decoration of a Missal in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (N. a. lat. 2666), generally dated between 1310 and 1320.⁸ If not by an altogether different artist, the Lehman cutting may provide additional confirmation of an early phase of the Maestro Daddesco's activity, perhaps as early as the beginning of the second decade of the fourteenth century, before he was affected by the courtly style of the Master of the Codex of Saint George.

MLD'A, PP

NOTES:

1. See No. 2, note 2.
2. Levi D'Ancona, 13 December 1987 (Robert Lehman Collection files).
3. See note 5 in the biography of the Maestro Daddesco, above.
4. Boskovits 1984, p. 228, pl. 89b; New York 1994-95, pp. 110-11, no. 11, color ill.
5. Boskovits 1984, p. 229, pl. 89a; New York 1994-95, fig. 34.
6. Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg 1977, pp. 252-53, no. 207.
7. For a summary of opinions, see Boskovits 1986, pp. 114-21.
8. Boskovits 1995, p. 383, n. 7.

Lorenzo Monaco

active Florence 1388–died Florence 1423/24

Equally accomplished as a painter, illuminator, draftsman, and frescoist, Lorenzo Monaco was the dominant artistic personality in Florence during the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The date of his birth is not known, however, and the established facts concerning his personal life and career are few.¹ The earliest surviving document, dated December 1391, records his profession of simple vows in the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence, at which time he exchanged his given name, Piero di Giovanni, for his religious name, Don Lorenzo. From the same document we gather that before entering the monastery late in 1390 to begin his year of novitiate, he had been living in the parish of San Michele Visdomini in Florence. In September 1392 Don Lorenzo was ordained a subdeacon and in February 1396 a deacon. Although it is generally assumed that sometime after this date the artist left Santa Maria degli Angeli to operate his own studio, the first secure notice of his residence outside the monastery is an unspecified payment record of 1402 that mentions his being domiciled in the parish of San Bartolo del Corso.² Don Lorenzo presumably retained close ties with Santa Maria degli Angeli, as he never renounced his vows and continued to be known as the “frate degli angeli” while exercising a virtual monopoly over Florentine Camaldolese commissions until his death in 1423/24.

The first written notice of Lorenzo’s activity as a painter occurs in 1396, when he was registered in the painters’ guild in Florence as “Piero di Giovanni from the parish of San Michele Visdomini.” Between 1398 and 1400 he is recorded as receiving payments for a hitherto unidentified altarpiece for the Ardinghelli Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine. In 1406 he is mentioned in the documents of the hospital church of Santa Maria Nuova, located near Santa Maria degli Angeli, as receiving payment for an unidentified panel depicting Saints Cosmas and Damian. In 1407 and 1411 he received payments for an altarpiece for the Olivetan monastery of San Bartolomeo a Monteoliveto, outside Florence, identifiable with a polyptych dated 1410 now in the Accademia, Florence. Between April and August 1410 he was paid for the design and execution of unspecified stained glass windows for the Compagnia of Orsanmichele.³ Beginning in 1412, when he was hired as one of six chaplains for Orsanmichele, Lorenzo’s name crops up regularly in

the records of the confraternity until 1415, when, coincidentally, he seems to have moved from the parish of San Bartolo del Corso, just north of Orsanmichele, to a new house opposite Santa Maria degli Angeli.⁴ During this time Lorenzo appears to have maintained his association with the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, whose records show further payments to him in 1412 and 1413 for illuminations in a series of choir books (Bargello, Florence, Cod. E 70, H 74) and again in 1418 for unspecified panel paintings. The last preserved notices of his activity, dated between 1420 and 1422, include a sequence of payments for an altarpiece for the church of Sant’Egidio (a dependency of Santa Maria Nuova) tentatively identified with the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi, Florence, and a contract between the Corsini family and the Arte della Lana specifying that either Lorenzo Monaco or an artist equal or superior to him was to be commissioned to paint an altarpiece for the cathedral of Florence. No work has hitherto been associated with this last commission, and it is generally assumed that the artist died shortly thereafter.

Despite the fair number of surviving dated works, both panel paintings and manuscript illuminations, that may confidently be attributed to Lorenzo Monaco, the precise outlines of his career remain the subject of scholarly debate. Most of the issues regard his earliest production, beginning with the so-called *Nobili predella* (Louvre, Paris), part of an altarpiece (Bodemuseum, Berlin) commissioned to Agnolo Gaddi and installed in a chapel in Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1387–88.⁵ Although the attribution of the *predella* to Lorenzo Monaco is rejected by Eisenberg in the most recent monograph on the artist,⁶ these scenes are otherwise thought to provide confirmation of the artist’s apprenticeship in the workshop of Agnolo Gaddi prior to entering Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1390.⁷ Whether or not his first independent altarpiece, painted for the convent of San Gaggio, outside Florence, was executed before or after 1390, however, remains unclear,⁸ as does the question of whether his next major work, an altarpiece for Santa Maria del Carmine – apparently not identifiable with his recorded commission for the Ardinghelli Chapel in 1398 – was painted during or after Lorenzo’s residence at Santa Maria degli Angeli.⁹ Additionally, only recently has the discovery of a 1407 document recording the

endowment of an altarpiece for the main altar of the church of San Benedetto fuori Porta Pinti, Florence, firmly established the date of the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the National Gallery, London,¹⁰ unanimously attributed to the artist and associated with this commission, but thought by most scholars to follow his signed and dated 1414 version of the same subject for Santa Maria degli Angeli (Uffizi, Florence).

Equally unresolved is the development of Don Lorenzo's career as a miniaturist. It is generally assumed that the artist learned the craft of manuscript illumination in the scriptorium of Santa Maria degli Angeli, under the tutelage of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci. Kanter has recently pointed out, however, that Lorenzo may instead have begun his career in this medium prior to his novitiate, in the workshop of Don Simone Camaldolese, from whom he appears to have derived his style and technique of foliate decoration.¹¹ Whether or not he was actually trained by Don Silvestro, Lorenzo was entrusted with all the major commissions of the monastic scriptorium after Don Silvestro's death in 1399. His earliest assignment was the completion of the ambitious project of the illumination of a twelve-volume Antiphonary set for Santa Maria degli Angeli (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Cor. 1, 5, 7, 8, 13), the writing and decoration of which had begun in 1385, during the residence of Don Silvestro. Unanimously recognized as key to the assessment of the artist's early development as both a painter and an illuminator, the dating and attribution of these miniatures remain the subject of a wide range of critical opinions. The dates recorded in three of these books – 1394 (Cor. 5), 1395 (Cor. 8), 1396 (Cor. 1) – were until recently viewed as pertaining to the completion of the decoration as well as the writing of the text.¹² Kanter has convincingly shown, however, that they are valid only as a *terminus post quem* for the illuminations, which were most probably executed in different stages between 1400 and 1406–7 (1406 being the date recorded for the completion of the text in Cor. 7).¹³ As for the undated illuminations in Corale 13, they are related by Kanter to those by Lorenzo Monaco in an Antiphonary for the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova (Bargello, Cod. C 71) documented in a 1396 payment to the monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli and regarded together with the latter as the only fixed point in Lorenzo Monaco's career as a miniaturist prior to 1400.¹⁴

It is generally recognized that the single dominating influence on Lorenzo Monaco's style during this early phase of his career, from his panel paintings to his manu-

script production, was Agnolo Gaddi, the head of one of the most active workshops in late trecento Florence and most likely Lorenzo's first teacher. From Gaddi the young Lorenzo derived not only his figure types and compositions but also the brilliant palette, based on high-key pastels, bright primaries, and effects of *changeant couleur* that are typical of Agnolo's mature production. The increasingly looser forms and calligraphic effects that mark the noticeable change in Lorenzo's style around 1404 – the date on the *Man of Sorrows* altarpiece in the Accademia, Florence – have been traced to the return of Gherardo Starnina from Spain in 1403 and his central role in the importation of the so-called International Gothic style to Italy. Equally influential in this direction, however, was the sculpture of Lorenzo Ghiberti, whose activities in Orsanmichele coincided with Don Lorenzo's recorded presence there in 1410.

The last decade of Lorenzo Monaco's career, marked by masterpieces on panel such as the 1414 *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Uffizi, is defined by equally ambitious projects of manuscript illumination for Santa Maria degli Angeli (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cor. 3, 18) and for the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova (Bargello, Cod. E 70, H 74). The dating and attribution of these works have been no less the subject of debate than his earlier production.¹⁵ The fact that by this date the demands placed on the successful artist necessitated the intervention of assistants has only further complicated the issue, leading scholars to confuse Lorenzo's autograph production with that of lesser-known contemporaries and followers such as Bartolomeo di Fruosino and Matteo Torelli. The controversy has to some degree obscured the appreciation of what are in effect some of the most remarkable achievements, in terms of formal, compositional, and decorative sophistication, in the history of early Italian manuscript illumination.

PP

NOTES:

1. Eisenberg published all the documents, except for the few noted below that have been discovered since then, in 1989 (pp. 209–16).
2. For the arguments concerning the possible date of Lorenzo's departure, see *ibid.*, p. 49, n. 6.
3. Finiello Zervas 1991, p. 758, docs. 6, 9.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 753–54. In 1415 Santa Maria degli Angeli sold Lorenzo a house and garden directly across from the monastery (Eisenberg 1989, pp. 212–13, doc. 11). The document recording the sale, which refers to Lorenzo as "dipintore da siene," has often led to the suggestion that

he was born in Siena. As Eisenberg (*ibid.*, pp. 4–5) has pointed out, however, the ambiguous reference need not imply such a conclusion. If “siene” is indeed to be read as Siena, this would be the only reference to his Sienese origins, and surprising at such a late date in his career. Whenever he is not referred to as the “frate degli angeli,” in fact, Lorenzo is invariably identified as from the parish of San Michele Visdomini, or San Bartolo al Corso, in Florence. At the same time, we do know that he executed at least one Sienese commission early in his career, a *Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints John the Baptist and Nicholas* now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena (*ibid.*, pp. 167–68, fig. 132), indicating that he may indeed have had professional contacts in that city. By 1415 he may have received commissions from other Sienese patrons – perhaps for one of his several Madonna of Humility paintings – which would explain his need for the periodic absences from Florence that are implied by the particular terms of his agreement with Santa Maria degli Angeli to rent his house while he was away.

5. The altarpiece was attributed to Lorenzo Monaco first by Gronau in 1950, followed by Zeri in 1964–65.
6. Eisenberg 1989, pp. 200–201, figs. 213, 216.
7. See Boskovits 1975, pp. 132–33, and Kanter in New York 1994–95, p. 220.
8. Boskovits 1988, pp. 94–96, no. 36.

9. On the issues surrounding the documents for the Ardinghelli Chapel, see Eisenberg 1989, p. 48, n. 5, p. 210, docs. 4A–G, and Boskovits 1988, pp. 96–99, no. 37.
10. For the document, see Gordon and Thomas 1995.
11. Kanter in New York 1994–95, pp. 220–21. Kanter’s tentative suggestion regarding the possible intervention of Lorenzo Monaco in a historiated initial in a Gradual illuminated by Don Simone and his shop (Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna, Cod. 539, fol. 160v; New York 1994–95, p. 208, fig. 69) has recently been taken up by Boskovits (1995, pp. 384–85, n. 12), who attributes its design, as well as its execution, to the young artist.
12. Eisenberg 1989, pp. 8, 109, 111 (with a summary of the previous literature).
13. Kanter in New York 1994–95, pp. 229–48, 262–67, nos. 29, 30, 33, ill.
14. Levi D’Ancona (1979, pp. 469–71, n. 7; 1994, pp. 14, 40, 105–6, 168), who records its date incorrectly as 1395, has associated this payment with Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, whom she considers responsible for two of the illuminations in Codex C 71 (fols. 95, 210). For the correct dating and interpretation of this document, see Bent 1992, pp. 510–14.
15. See Levi D’Ancona 1994, pp. 39–42, 92–93, 100–101, 106–7, 109–11, ill., and Kanter in New York 1994–95, pp. 272–96, nos. 35–38, ill. (with previous bibliography).

Lorenzo Monaco

ca. 1406–7

21. The Last Judgment in an Initial C Cutting from an Antiphonary for Santa Maria degli Angeli

1975.I.2485

Recto: impressions of rulings for two 4-line staves (stave height approximately 50 mm) visible through the painted surface of the verso under specular light.

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment, the burnished gold applied onto creamy tan bole and punch tools used to decorate the halos and the edges of the initial ground. 313 × 264 mm, initial ground 199 × 198 mm. Visible under ultraviolet light above the initial ground: *heredi* (the end of a line of text that has been scraped away).

The miniature has been trimmed outside the initial ground to include the entire foliate extensions and pasted onto another piece of parchment, which was then glued down on card and mounted on wooden board, considerably flattening the surface. There are numerous areas of inpainting, including Christ’s robe and the foliate extensions and especially in the oranges at the right and lower left. Some cracks in the burnished gold surface have been toned in. The penwork rinceau was

added at a considerably later date (nineteenth century?). Most of the gold dots added at the same time are distinguishable for their dark terracotta bole and flat surface (the original burnished gold dots that remain in the left margin are applied on thick creamy tan bole).

PROVENANCE: Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence; [Bernard d’Hendecourt, Paris]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from D’Hendecourt in 1920.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 166 (as Florentine master, early fifteenth century); Cincinnati 1959, no. 322 (as Lorenzo Monaco); Atlanta 1973–74, no. 23 (as Lorenzo Monaco?); New York 1994–95, no. 33, color ill. (as Lorenzo Monaco).

LITERATURE: Comstock 1927, pp. 51, 56, ill. (as doubtless by Lorenzo Monaco); De Ricci 1937, p. 1709 (as Lorenzo Monaco); Lehman 1962 (as Lorenzo Monaco); Levi D’Ancona 1978, p. 228 (as from Santa Maria degli Angeli);



No. 21 (*reduced*)



Fig. 21.1 Lorenzo Monaco, *God the Father Blessing and King David Playing a Psaltery in an Initial B*. Antiphonary from Santa Maria degli Angeli, fol. 20 (detail). Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Cod. Cor. 7. Courtesy of the Ministero per I Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence



Fig. 21.2 Lorenzo Monaco, *Saint Peter and Four Apostles in an Initial V*. Antiphonary from Santa Maria degli Angeli, fol. 36 (detail). Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Cod. Cor. 7. Courtesy of the Ministero per I Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence



Fig. 21.3 Lorenzo Monaco, *The Man of Sorrows Between the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist in an Initial D*. Cutting from an Antiphonary from Santa Maria degli Angeli (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Cod. Cor. 7, fol. 45). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, 1474



Fig. 21.4 Lorenzo Monaco, *Saint Maurus in an Initial P*. Antiphonary from Santa Maria degli Angeli, fol. 95 (detail). Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Cod. Cor. 7. Courtesy of the Ministero per I Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence

Eisenberg 1989, p. 199 (as by an illuminator active at Santa Maria degli Angeli but not directly associated with Lorenzo Monaco); sale, Christie's, London, 29 June 1994, under lot 15; Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 47, 48, 50, 96, 140, 210, colorpl. 9, fig. 44 (as Matteo Torelli); Levi D'Ancona 1995b, pp. 149, 152 (as Matteo Torelli).

The illumination depicts the Last Judgment. The bust-length figure of Christ, clad in a blue mantle that reveals the wound on his right side, emerges from a bank of blue clouds set against a burnished gold ground. He looks to his left as he points downward with his left hand and raises his right hand in judgment. To his right an angel wearing a blue tunic blows the golden trumpet of the Last Judgment. The dead emerge from cracks in the rocky ground, their hands clasped in prayer and their heads tilted back (two of them dramatically foreshortened) to gaze upward at Christ. The initial letter C is pale blue with beading and white filigree decoration. Its inner band is yellow and red, and the acanthus extensions are orange, green, and yellowish tan. The foliate extension at the lower left corner terminates in a *drôlerie* with a blue humanoid face and donkey or rabbit ears.

In 1978 Levi D'Ancona traced this *Last Judgment* to a thirteen-volume Antiphonary made for the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence and now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana there. It was removed from Corale 7, a supplement volume that was added to the original twelve-volume set written between 1385 and 1397. Corale 7, which is dated 1406 in a colophon decorating an initial D on folio 123, contains the continuation of the Common of Saints found in Corale 11, as well as votive offices and certain feasts in April and May that were omitted from Corale 1. The manuscript presently contains three historiated initials, on folios 20, 36, and 95 (Figs. 21.1, 21.2, 21.4). Three folios – 4, 45, and 124 – also presumably illuminated, were removed from the codex sometime before 1809 (the year they were taken from Santa Maria degli Angeli to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana and rebound).² The first of the three missing illuminations, originally on folio 4, which as specified in the extant rubric on the preceding folio contained part of Matins from the Common of Several Martyrs in Paschaltide, has not yet been located.³ Kanter has identified the *Man of Sorrows Between the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist in an Initial D* (Fig. 21.3) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (1474), as the illumination on folio 45, which began the office for the Feast of the Invention of the Cross with

the antiphon “Dulce lignum, dulces clavos” (O sweet wood, sweet nails).⁴

The Lehman illumination is a fragment of the third missing folio, 124. It opened and illustrated the second response of the first nocturn of Matins in the Office of the Dead: “Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra resurrecturus sum, et in carne mea videbo Deum, Salvatorem meum” (I believe that my Redeemer lives, and that on the last day I shall rise from the earth, and in my flesh I shall see God, my Savior).⁵ The rubric “In agenda mortuorum” appears on the recto of folio 123, still in situ in Corale 7, and on its verso is the second antiphon of the first nocturn. The Lehman initial was situated at the bottom of the verso of folio 124; the conclusion of the response, beginning with the words “meus vivit et in novissimo die,” appears at the top of folio 125.⁶



Fig. 21.5 Matteo Torelli, *The Last Judgment in an Initial C*. Antiphonary Common of Saints from Santa Maria Nuova, fol. 84v. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Cod. E 70. Courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence. Photograph: Marcello Bertoni, Florence

Kanter considered the illuminations in Corale 7 to be the work of a single artist in design and execution, and in 1994, following a suggestion first made by Boskovits,⁷ he attributed them to Lorenzo Monaco.⁸ Eisenberg, however, ascribed the initials to a follower of Lorenzo, Bartolomeo di Fruosino.⁹ Levi D'Ancona has in turn attributed folio 95 (Fig. 21.4) and possibly also folio 20 (Fig. 21.1) to Bartolomeo di Fruosino,¹⁰ but she attributed folio 36 (Fig. 21.2) and the Lehman *Last Judgment* to another follower of Lorenzo Monaco, Matteo di Filippo Torelli.¹¹ She compared the Lehman miniature to the historiated initials on folios 2v, 84v (Fig. 21.5), and 130v of an Antiphonary Common of Saints from Santa Maria Nuova (Bargello, Florence, Cod. E 70) that is documented as the work of Torelli in 1412–13.¹² Torelli's style has often been confused with Lorenzo Monaco's, although it is much inferior in invention and quality. The heads of the apostles in the initial on folio 2v of Codex E 70 were undoubtedly modeled on the figures of the resurrected dead in the Lehman *Last Judgment*, and the figures of the two saints in the initial B on folio 130v also reflect a dependency on the figure of Christ in the Lehman miniature, but in both style and execution the Codex E 70 illuminations are decidedly inferior to those belonging to Corale 7. The *Last Judgment in an Initial C* on folio 84v of Codex E 70 (Fig. 21.5) is clearly a derivation by Matteo Torelli of the Lehman initial, implying a terminus ante quem for it and for Corale 7.¹³

MFS

NOTES:

1. According to De Ricci (1937, p. 1709).
2. Levi D'Ancona 1994, p. 88.
3. Levi D'Ancona (1978, p. 229; 1994, pp. 53, 95) has proposed that the *Christ and Saint Paul in an Initial A* in the Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, Paris (no. 2), is from folio 4, suggesting that it illustrated the text "Absterget deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis sanctorum" (God will wipe away every tear from the eyes of the saints), the fourth antiphon for second Vespers in the Common of Several Martyrs outside Paschaltide. Kanter (New York 1994–95, p. 266, n. 1) has pointed out, however, not only that the rubrics on the preceding folio preclude this being the missing text but also that the antiphon "absterget deus" already exists, illuminated, on folio 38 of Corale 11 of the Santa Maria degli Angeli choir books. He believes the Wildenstein initial A, the style of which differs from that of the illuminations in Corale 7, was probably executed in the 1420s.
4. Kanter in New York 1994–95, p. 265, fig. 106. Levi D'Ancona (1978, p. 228; 1994, pp. 53, 96) identified the illumination missing from folio 45 with a *Crucified Christ Between the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist and Two Angels* in a mosaic frame that was offered for sale at Sotheby's in London on 11 July 1966 (lot 193, as follower of Lorenzo Monaco) and again at Christie's in London on 29 June 1994 (lot 15, as Bartolomeo di Fruosino). Kanter (New York 1994–95, p. 266, n. 2) correctly noted that neither the format nor the style of the miniature corresponds to anything in Corale 7. Furthermore, the text on the reverse is written in two columns without musical notation, indicating that it was not removed from an Antiphonary.
5. *The Hours of the Divine Office in English and Latin* (Collegeville, Minn., 1963), vol. 1, p. 997.
6. The height of the initial ground (199 mm) accommodates the combined heights of two staves (approximately 50 mm each) with their corresponding lines of text (occupying the 50 mm between the staves). The space adjacent to the initial C would therefore have contained the last two lines of the text on the other side of the leaf and the first three words of the response, "[C]redo quod redemptor."
7. Boskovits 1975, p. 342.
8. Kanter in New York 1994–95, no. 33, p. 266.
9. Eisenberg 1989, p. 189.
10. Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 95–96; Levi D'Ancona 1995b, pp. 65, 86, 159–60, colorpl. 34.
11. Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 45, 47, 96, 188; Levi D'Ancona 1995b, pp. 65, 75, 83, 86, 149, 152, colorpls. 33, 34.
12. Levi D'Ancona 1994, p. 47, figs. 40, 42, 43. For the documents, see Levi D'Ancona 1992, pp. 95–96, and Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 44, 163, 170.
13. Bellosi 1984, fig. 19; New York 1994–95, p. 266, fig. 107.

Zanobi di Benedetto di Caroccio degli Strozzi, known as Zanobi Strozzi

Florence 17 November 1412–Florence 6 December 1468

Zanobi Strozzi, panel painter and illuminator, belonged to the aristocratic Strozzi family of Florence.¹ According to the regulations of the guilds that governed the city, an aristocrat could not rule the city or take an active part in politics, so Strozzi never registered in the Florentine painters' guild, the *Arte dei Medici e Speziali*. Also, rather than entering an artist's workshop as an apprentice, he was instructed by a private tutor, the illuminator Battista di Biagio Sanguigni. Sanguigni lived with Strozzi, who was an orphan, in Palaiuola, near Fiesole, from the late 1420s until Strozzi's marriage in 1438 to his sixteen-year-old cousin Nanna di Francesco di Giovanni Strozzi. In 1442 Strozzi vowed to support the older illuminator for the remainder of his life, and in 1446 he transferred his house near Fiesole to him.

Although the apprenticeship is not documented, Strozzi was clearly one of Fra Angelico's chief pupils. One of his earliest datable commissions was for the choir books he and Filippo di Matteo Torelli illuminated (Strozzi painting the figures and Torelli the borders) for the monastery of San Marco in Florence between 1446 and 1454.² In 1456–57 Strozzi is once again recorded as

collaborating with Torelli, on an Antiphonary for the Vallombrosan monastery of San Pancrazio, Florence, for which Strozzi received payment on 4 May 1457, for painting the figure of Saint John Gualbert (Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 2151).³ During the last decade of his life Strozzi collaborated with the illuminator Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico on choir books for the cathedral of Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, Edili 149–51).⁴

NOTES:

1. On Strozzi, see Levi D'Ancona 1959b (with documents and a list of the manuscripts and their respective dates); Garzelli 1985, vol. 1, pp. 11–24 (with earlier bibliography, p. 12, n. 2); Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 69–74; and Strehlke in New York 1994–95, pp. 349–50.
2. Levi D'Ancona 1959b, pp. 6, 10–16, figs. 2, 7, 11, 13, 14; Levi D'Ancona 1962a, pp. 265–66; Garzelli 1985, vol. 1, pp. 13–16, vol. 2, figs. 1–5, 9, 10, 14, 15, 19, colorpl. 1; Chiesa di San Marco 1989–90, vol. 2, figs. 17–21 (color); New York 1994–95, pp. 349, 350, n. 1 (with the list of manuscripts from Levi D'Ancona 1959b, p. 12, n. 1); Levi D'Ancona in Florence 1995, pp. 72–76.
3. Levi D'Ancona 1959b, pp. 6, 16, 18, fig. 15; Levi D'Ancona 1962a, pp. 107, 266, 267 (the documents); Garzelli 1985, p. 17, fig. 28; Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 71, 155, fig. 71; New York 1994–95, pp. 350, 352, fig. 132.
4. Levi D'Ancona 1959b, pp. 7, 18, 20, fig. 17; Garzelli 1985, pp. 17–18, figs. 6, 16.

Zanobi Strozzi

ca. 1450

22. King David in Prayer in an Initial B Cutting from a Psalter

1975.1.2470

Verso (hair side): five lines of text (ruling height 11.5 mm): “aciet p[ro]sp[er]abu[n]t[ur]. / n sic: sed tamq[uam] / proicit ve[n]tus / u[n]t inpii i[n] iudi / es in consilio.”

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 142 x 135 mm, initial ground 123 x 122 mm. On three sides of the initial are twelve horizontal lines, 12 mm apart and ruled in light brown ink, with the remnants of seven lines of text: at the top, a rubric written in dark flesh tone, the tops of the letters cropped off; to the right of the initial ground, parts of the stems of five letters that began five lines of text, all written in dark brown ink, the first embellished with penwork decoration;

at the bottom, written in dark brown ink, the bottoms of the letters cropped, the words “stetit: et in c[athedra].”

Except for a few abrasions and fine cracks caused by distortion on the blue of the sky and in the foliate decoration of the top right corner of the initial, the illumination is in excellent condition. The initial has been cropped close to the letter at the left side, and the acanthus foliage extensions at the top and bottom and other decoration on the burnished gold ground along the left edge have been eliminated. The burnished gold has flaked in scattered areas, exposing the light tan bole, chiefly at the upper right and lower left corners.



No. 22, recto

PROVENANCE: John Murray, Florence. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Murray in 1924.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 167 (as Florentine master in the circle of Fra Angelico, mid-fifteenth century); Cincinnati 1959, no. 326 (as Florentine master, mid-fifteenth century, attributed also to Zanobi Strozzi); New York 1994–95, no. 52, color ill. (as Zanobi Strozzi).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1711 (as Florence, fifteenth century); Collobi Ragghianti 1950, pp. 20, 27, fig. 12 (as *Praying Christ*, by Zanobi Strozzi).

The initial B begins Psalm 1, “Beatus vir” (Blessed is the man). Because the text of the Lehman cutting is not notated, it was most likely excised not from a choir book but from a Psalter, where it would have been the

opening illumination of the book.² The fragmentary text on the verso continues Psalm 1:3–5: “[Et omnia quaecumque f[aci]et p[ro]sp[er]abu[n]t[ur]. [Non sic impii, no]n sic: sed tamq[uam] pulvis quem] proicit ve[n]tus [a face terrae ideo non resurger]u[n]t impii i[n] iudicio neque peccator]es in consilio [justorum]” (And all whatsoever he shall do shall prosper. Not so the wicked, not so: but like the dust, which the wind driveth from the face of the earth. Therefore the wicked shall not rise again in judgment: nor sinners in the council of the just).

The illumination represents King David in a landscape genuflecting in prayer, his eyes raised to the blessing hand of God the Father in the cloud above, from which

divine radiance emanates. The psalmist is identifiable by the crown and psaltery on the ground beside him. To the right of the letter B an angel without wings perches on a blossom and grasps the stem of the flowers above. In the top left corner is an arm and at the bottom left is a tonsured head, all that remain of the black-clad monks who were cropped away when the illumination was excised from the original codex.

The angel wears a lavender robe. David is clad in a pink robe and a green-lined lavender mantle. The psaltery and the crown are beige, as is the inner band of the letter B, which is filled with an inscription in poor Latin: “Hoc est verbum Domini in corde eius mandata porte et rengnum [*sic*] celorum pro nobis est quia eius eredes sumus gratis cum Christo” (This is the word of the Lord, commanded in his heart from the gate and kingdom of heaven for us who are his heirs, most thankfully in Christ).³

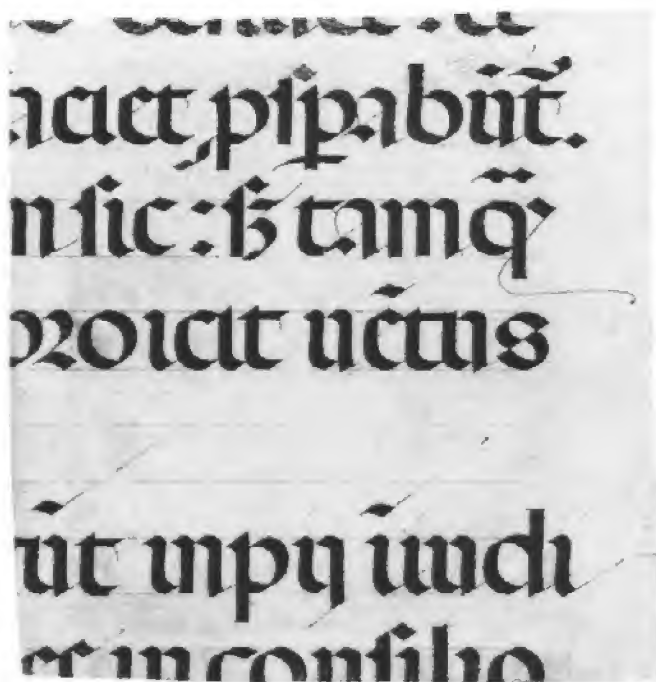
Collobi Ragghianti, who erroneously identified the subject as Christ in prayer, attributed the Lehman illumination to Zanobi Strozzi in 1950 because of its stylistic affinity with an illumination of the Vallombrosan Saint John Gualbert in an initial G (Fig. 22.1) in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice (2151).⁴ In 1955 Salmi attributed the Cini miniature to Fra Benedetto Toschi based on the inscription inside the upper arc of the G: “Hoc opus fecit Benedictus abbas sancti Pranchatii anno



Fig. 22.1 Zanobi Strozzi, *Saint John Gualbert in an Initial G*. Frontispiece for choir book from San Pancrazio, Florence (detail). Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, 2151

domini MCCCCLVII regnante Kalisto papa terzo” (This work was made by Benedict, abbot of San Pancrazio, in the year of our Lord 1457, during the reign of Pope Calixtus III).⁵ I subsequently determined, however, that Abbot Fra Benedetto Toschi did not paint the initial but rather commissioned it from Zanobi Strozzi as part of a set of choir books for the Benedictine monastery of San Pancrazio in Florence.⁶ The *Glory of Saint John Gualbert* for the frontispiece was ordered in 1456 and Strozzi was paid for it the following year. The border decoration was executed by Filippo di Matteo Torelli. The Benedictine monks in the border of the Lehman *King David* wear habits that might be Vallombrosan, of the same order as San Pancrazio.

The head of King David in the Lehman initial resembles those of the virgin martyrs on folio 89v (Fig. 22.2) of Gradual A, the first volume of the “Graduale delle feste” that Zanobi Strozzi illuminated for the monastery of San Marco in Florence between September 1448 and March 1449 (Biblioteca del Convento di San Marco, Cor. 515).⁷ The angel behind David is very close in style to the angels in the border of folio 15 (Fig. 22.3) of the Book of Hours Strozzi illuminated for the Adimari, a prominent Florentine family (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, w.767).⁸ Garzelli dated this deluxe Book of Hours



No. 22, verso



Fig. 22.2 Zanobi Strozzi, *Christ Blessing the Virgin Martyrs in an Initial I*. Gradual A, fol. 89v (detail). Biblioteca del Convento di San Marco, Florence, Cor. 515. Photograph: Guido Sansoni, reproduced by permission of the Ministero per I Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Florence



Fig. 22.3 Zanobi Strozzi, *The Nativity in an Initial D*. Adimari Hours, fol. 15 (detail). Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, w.767

decorated with an extensive pictorial cycle to about 1463.⁹ Strehlke has dated it to about 1450 or possibly as early as the mid-1440s, which would be consistent with Strozzi's style in this period. The Lehman illumination can also be tentatively dated to about 1450, when Zanobi Strozzi was at the height of his career as an illuminator.

MLD'A

NOTES:

1. According to an undated, unsigned note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. Psalm 1 is included in the Ordinary of the Tempore, at Prime of feria secunda; see *Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnus horis* (Tournai, 1934), pp. 3–4.
3. Translation from New York 1994–95, p. 350. The source of this text has not yet been identified.
4. Garzelli 1985, p. 17, fig. 28; Levi D'Ancona 1994, pp. 71, 155, fig. 71; New York 1994–95, pp. 350, 352, fig. 132.
5. Salmi [1955], p. 32, fig. 14a.
6. Levi D'Ancona 1959b, pp. 6, 16, 18, fig. 15; Levi D'Ancona 1962a, pp. 107, 266, 267.
7. On the San Marco choir books, see note 2 in the biography of Strozzi above.
8. Strehlke in New York 1994–95, pp. 352–56, no. 53, color ill. (with earlier bibliography).
9. Garzelli 1985, pp. 18–19, figs. 20, 22–24. Garzelli argued that the *Trial of the True Cross* on folio 163 of the Adimari Hours is the iconographic and compositional precursor of the larger version of the subject in the last Antiphonaries made for Santa Maria del Fiore, which were begun in 1463.



No. 23a



No. 23b

Veronese-Paduan Artist (*Master of the Paduan Bible?*)

ca. 1400-1410

23. Music-Making Angels

1975.1.2465a, b

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment, the gold filigree decoration applied on brownish gray bole. Angel with portative organ (1975.1.2465a) 61.5 x 44.5 mm, without border 49 x 23 mm; angel with harp (1975.1.2465b) 61 x 45 mm, without border 49 x 24 mm.

The cuttings were irregularly trimmed, partially following the filigree borders, and pasted onto laid paper. There is green sealing wax in the center of both versos. Both miniatures show a fine crackle pattern. Losses in the gold expose the parchment above the head, along the lower back, and to the right and below the tip of the wing of the angel with a harp, and both hands have lost white pigment and some details. In the other angel there is a small loss exposing the parchment in the red passage at the knees, and the friable green has flaked along the edges of the garment.

PROVENANCE: Not established.

The two music-making angels are each contained in a cusped quadrilobe medallion surrounded by gold filigree decoration. One of them, with dark blue wings and wearing a pale green tunic with orange patches over a gray robe, plays a portative organ. The other, with pale green wings and wearing a pink tunic over a gray robe, plays a handheld harp.

Although nothing is known of the provenance of these two cuttings, their small size and the lavishly applied gold filigree ornament suggest that they might originally



Fig. 23.1 Northern Italian artist, late fourteenth century, frontispiece of Petrarch, *Canzoniere*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.502



Fig. 23.2 Master of the Paduan Bible, Scenes from the Old Testament. Paduan Bible, fol. 1. British Library, London, Add. ms 15277. By permission of the British Library

Fig. 23.3 Master of the Paduan Bible, *The Way to Calvary*. Present location unknown. Photograph courtesy of Christie's, London



have formed part of the illuminated borders of a luxuriously decorated liturgical manuscript, possibly on the opening page of a major liturgical feast. Elaborately painted borders are typical of many of the illuminated manuscripts produced throughout Italy from the early fourteenth century on, but the extensive application of gold filigree ornament is noticeably more common in the north, where manuscript production during most of the fourteenth and into the early fifteenth century was dominated by the lavish patronage of the Milanese and Paduan courts. In other major centers of book illumination, such as Tuscany, this kind of border decoration was normally executed in the more modest traditional blue and red inks well into the fifteenth century.

The illuminated frontispiece (Fig. 23.1) of a copy of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (M.502), that was made for Galeazzo II Visconti, duke of Milan, in the late fourteenth century provides the closest comparison for the gold filigree patterning on the Lehman cuttings.¹ Although the figure style of the painted illuminations on the page, attributed to an unidentified northern Italian artist, differs sig-



Fig. 23.4 Master of the Paduan Bible, *Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalen*. Present location unknown. Photograph courtesy of Christie's, London

nificantly from that of the Lehman angels, the design of the wide gold filigree border, consisting of similarly articulated geometric bands intertwined to form lozenges that frame the heraldic crest and the owner's monogram, is especially close to that of the filigree decoration surrounding the angels.

A northern Italian provenance for the Lehman cuttings is also suggested by the painted borders framing the angels. Their design, based on the ogival arches characteristic of Venetian Gothic architecture, is repeated in the frames of fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century altarpieces throughout the Veneto and surrounding regions. At the same time, the execution of the figures reflects a concern for naturalism and sculptural solidity, despite the small scale, that stands in marked contrast to the principally decorative vocabulary of late Gothic manuscript production in Venice itself. In this respect, the style of the angels is indebted to the more specifically Paduan, Giottesque realism of Altichiero, in particular as reflected in the work of his late trecento followers in Padua and Verona, such as the so-called Master of the Paduan Bible.²

Various associated with the workshops of Martino or Jacopo da Verona, the Master of the Paduan Bible is named for a series of miniatures illustrating the Old Testament (see Fig. 23.2) in a manuscript now divided between the Biblioteca dei Concordi, Rovigo (MS 212), and the British Library, London (Add. MS 15277), that reflect an evident familiarity with the fresco paintings by Altichiero in Padua.³ To this nucleus of works, which can be plausibly dated to the last decade of the fourteenth century, have been added other illuminations,

as well as paintings on panel, that albeit not consistently homogeneous in style reveal a common vocabulary derived from an amalgamation of the Giottesque realism of Altichiero with decorative elements of the International Gothic.⁴ Among these works, and deserving of particular attention in relation to the Lehman cuttings, is a series of six panels depicting scenes from the life of Christ, formerly on the art market in London (see Figs. 23.3, 23.4).⁵ These panels, less austere Giottesque and with a greater narrative vivacity than the Old Testament scenes, are unanimously recognized as reflecting a slightly later development in the career of the Master of the Paduan Bible. Both they and the Lehman angels might have been executed in the first decade of the fifteenth century.

PP

NOTES:

1. Jasenas 1974, p. 24, no. 2, pl. 2. Special thanks go to Roger S. Wieck of the Pierpont Morgan Library and Maria Francesca Saffiotti for pointing out this comparison.
2. For the influence of Altichiero in Padua and Verona, see the entries by Lucco and Moench Scherer in Lucco 1989–90, vol. 1, pp. 80–101, 149–90. Significantly, the architectural framework surrounding the Lehman angels appears in identical form in the fantastic architectonic settings of Martino da Verona's frescoes in Sant'Eufemia, Verona, and in a triptych attributed to him in the collection of the Banca Popolare in Verona (Scherer in Lucco 1989–90, vol. 1, figs. 207, 211).
3. Folena and Mellini 1962 (a facsimile).
4. Ibid., pp. xxxii–xxxvii; Mellini 1969; Huter 1974, pp. 9–12; Boskovits in Milan 1988, pp. 224–25.
5. Sale, Christie's, London, 23 June 1967, lots 102–4; Huter 1974, figs. 2–7.

Cristoforo Cortese

active Venice ca. 1390–died Venice before 1445

Cristoforo Cortese was the most important Venetian illuminator active from the end of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century.¹ He was the son of Marco Cortese, a painter and illuminator of the parish of Sant'Apollinare in Venice.² His name, followed by "miniator," appears for the first time in a register of the Scuola di Santa Caterina dei Sacchi compiled between 1367 and 1399 (Museo Correr, Venice, MS IV, 118). A

Venetian document dated 1409 refers to a "Cristoforo de Cortesiis pictor" living in the parish of San Pater-nian.³ The artist's name is not mentioned again in documents until the 1420s, when he appears to have been living in the parish of San Silvestro and to have been a member of the Scuola di Santa Maria della Misericordia.⁴ A 1426 document recording Cortese's presence in Bologna and stating his intention to establish his residence

in the city has led various scholars to speculate on a possible phase of his activity outside Venice,⁵ but we know that he was back in his native city in 1439, when he drew up a second draft of his will (the first was dated 1425). A document of 1445 pertaining to his son refers to Cortese as already dead.⁶

Despite the relative wealth of biographical information, virtually nothing is known of Cortese's activity as an illuminator, for none of the surviving documents refer to a payment, contract, or commission for a work of art. On the basis of his only known signed illumination, a *Funeral of Saint Francis in an Initial A* inscribed *XFORV. CO[R]TEXE. VENETUS. F.* (Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, Paris, no. 68),⁷ other illuminations, as well as woodcuts and tapestry designs, have been attributed to the artist.⁸ Additional efforts have also been made to associate Cortese's name with works on panel, beginning with the tentative identification of his signature in the partial inscription on a polyptych of the Madonna and Child with saints in the parish church of Altidona, near Ascoli Piceno in the Marche.⁹

Many of the illuminations attributed to Cortese appear to have been executed for some of the most important *scuole*, or lay confraternities, in and around Venice.¹⁰ Pietro Toesca first attributed to the artist a full-page miniature showing the Virgin of Mercy worshiped by the members of a lay confraternity (Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, no. 78)¹¹ that bears on its verso the date 1422 and the first lines of the *Capitolare* (a book containing the oaths taken by the members of the chapter)¹² of the Scuola della Santissima Trinità dei Frati Teutonici, which was founded in Venice in 1419.¹³ Cortese's name has also been proposed in relation to commissions for the Scuola di Santa Maria Odorifera,¹⁴ the Congregazione del Clero of Santa Maria Formosa,¹⁵ and the Paduan Confraternity of Saint Anthony of Padua.¹⁶

As noted by most recent authors, the earliest roots of Cortese's style are to be found in the Paduan and Bolognese schools of illumination that dominated manuscript painting in Italy in the fourteenth century. Equally influential in the evolution of his personal idiom, however, were the courtly vocabulary of the Lombard illuminator Michelino da Besozzo, who was active in Venice beginning in 1410,¹⁷ and the compositional innovations of the Florentine illuminator Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, who between 1392 and 1399 had decorated a famous series of choir books for the Venetian monastery of San Michele a Murano.¹⁸ The extent of the impact of Don Silvestro's work on Cortese is reflected in the striking illuminations, representing some of his finest work, which

the latter contributed to a set of Graduals commissioned by the sister monastery of San Mattia a Murano and duplicating the liturgical content of those for San Michele.¹⁹

NOTES:

1. The most important studies on Cortese are P. Toesca 1946–47; I. Toesca 1952; Levi D'Ancona 1956; Chiappini di Sorio 1963; Savini Branca 1966; Mariani Canova 1970; Mariani Canova 1973; Land 1978; Huter 1980; Padoa Rizzo 1983 (with previous bibliography); Cohen 1985 (who revised the extent of Cortese's oeuvre, assigning certain illuminations of the 1430s to assistants based on what she considers a decrease in quality); Ferretti 1985; Lucco 1989–90, vol. 1, p. 343; New York 1992–93, pp. 198–99; and Todini and Bollati 1993–94, pp. 41–43.
2. Padoa Rizzo 1983, p. 716; Chiappini di Sorio 1963, p. 156.
3. Savini Branca (1966) doubted that this document is in fact to be connected with the illuminator, because in all the other documents his parish is given as Sant'Apollinare or San Silvestro.
4. According to Mariani Canova (1978, p. 67), a further reference to our artist is found in the *Mariogola* of the Scuola di Santa Maria della Misericordia, compiled in the first and second decades of the fifteenth century, where he is listed as "Cristofalo Cortese. S. Silvestro."
5. See Levi D'Ancona 1956, p. 32, and Medica 1992, pp. 21–22, 29, n. 33. Medica was the first to publish the document in its entirety and to verify the date of Cortese's stay in Bologna as 1426, rather than 1425, as had long been thought.
6. Chiappini di Sorio 1963, pp. 156–57.
7. P. Toesca 1946–47, pp. 73–74, pl. 7b, c; Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 68.
8. For the woodcuts, see Rosenthal 1962; Mariani Canova 1970, pp. 37–42; and Huter 1980, p. 16. For the attribution to Cortese of the designs for the tapestries for the basilica of San Marco (Museo Marciano, Venice) – otherwise given to the Venetian painters Nicolò di Pietro or Zanino di Pietro – see Mariani Canova 1989, p. 213, n. 52 (with previous bibliography).
9. This painting bore a ruined inscription, *XPOFORUS. D. GOR* . . . , recorded by Rotundi in 1938, that has been identified as "Cristoforus de Cortesiis" based on Cortese's signature as it appears in the 1409 document (see Bisogni 1973, p. 150, and Bisogni in Urbino 1973, pp. 103–8). Huter (1974, pp. 12–14), in discussing Cortese as a panel painter, suggested that he executed a reliquary diptych with the Virgin and Child with Saint Lawrence and the Crucified Christ with Saints Francis and Onophrius for the convent of San Lorenzo in Isola, in the Venetian *laguna*, for which he had illuminated a copy of the Benedictine *Rule* (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, MS A125 Sup.). Kanter (1994, p. 139, no. 34), however, has convincingly removed the diptych from Cortese's oeuvre and suggested attributing it instead to the Florentine painter Lippo d'Andrea (1370/71–before 1451).
10. For a good general discussion of the *scuole*, see Pullan 1981 and P. Brown 1988.

11. P. Toesca 1946–47, p. 74, pl. 7a; Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 78, ill. Ilaria Toesca (1952), who was the first to draw up a list of works by Cortese, dated this illumination to about 1410.
12. See Bradley 1896, p. 258.
13. Levi D'Ancona 1956, p. 32. On the Scuola della Santissima Trinità, see Salerni 1994, pp. 181–83.
14. The *Mariegola* of the devotional Scuola di Santa Maria Odorifera is dated 1420 (Museo Correr, Venice, MS IV, 115, fol. 277); see Dorigato 1988, p. 162, ill. (citing Levi D'Ancona's 1956 attribution to Cortese).
15. Huter (1980, pp. 13–14, fig. 6) has attributed the *Virgin of Mercy* from the *Mariegola* of the Congregazione del Clero of Santa Maria Formosa (Fol. Ar. S. Maria Formosa) to Cortese and dated it to about 1407.
16. A leaf depicting Saint Anthony of Padua from an official manuscript of the Confraternity of Saint Anthony of Padua (Cathedral Library, Hereford) is attributed to Cortese and dated to about 1430 by Huter (1980, p. 15, fig. 8). See also Medica 1992, pp. 21–22, figs. 16, 17, for the attribution to Cortese of two leaves from an unidentified *mariegola* in the Pinacoteca Estense, Modena (2288, 2289).
17. See Mariani Canova 1989, pp. 207–8 (with previous bibliography).
18. Freuler 1992, pp. 480–85, ill.; Freuler in New York 1994–95, pp. 155–76, ill. The Graduals survive only in single leaves and cuttings of historiated initials housed in various collections. Levi D'Ancona (1993; 1995a) has proposed, providing the document for the financing of the project in 1368, that the works by Don Silvestro were produced for the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence in 1368–74 (see also Levi D'Ancona 1995b, p. 120).
19. Freuler 1992, pp. 482–85, ill.; Mariani Canova in Milan 1988–89, pp. 232–39, no. 65, ill. The set for San Mattia consists of a Gradual illuminated by Cortese (Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan, AB XVII.28, formerly Arm. 1, 28); a Gradual illuminated by Belbello da Pavia or, as has also been proposed, the Master of Murano or the Master of San Michele a Murano (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, MS 78); and a number of initials by Belbello (or the Master of Murano) from a now-dismembered third volume, at least fourteen of which are in the Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan (Musée Marmottan [1980], nos. 19, 21–23, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33a–c, 34a–c). Levi D'Ancona (1995a, pp. 12, 21, 23, 25, fig. 2; 1995b, pp. 164, 169, 171) has attributed the Berlin Gradual to Niccolò Rosselli.

Cristoforo Cortese

ca. 1425–34

24. Saint Mark the Evangelist and Saint Sinibaldus Venerated by Members of a Lay Confraternity Leaf from a *Mariegola*

1975.I.2468

Verso (hair side): blank, with offsets of black and red pigment. Tempera and gold leaf on parchment, the miniature painted on the flesh side of the first folio of a bifolio whose conjoint leaf survives only as a stub. 290 x 211 mm, miniature with frame 216 x 146 mm. Five sewing stations visible along the left edge. Annotated in the center of the verso: 55 (circled) in pencil; along the stub: 358 in black ink and *x fin XIV et XV^e* in pencil.

The leaf has been trimmed at the top and right. There are extensive losses from flaking throughout and scattered toning, which has changed color. Most of the burnished gold dots in the foliate border are lost, and there are large losses of gold above and between the saints' heads, including the entire cross and staff. A milky deposit on the surface of the mantle

of the saint on the left obscures the blue in places. The white filigree decoration in the thinly painted salmon pink frame has been abraded; it is best preserved at the top and along the left side.

PROVENANCE: [Les Frères Kalebldjian, Paris (no. 358)].
Acquired by Robert Lehman from Kalebldjian.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 171 (as perhaps Saints Mark and Geminianus, by an Italian master, end of the fifteenth century);² Cincinnati 1959, no. 323 (as Italian master, beginning of the fifteenth century).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1710 (as Saints Matthew and Petronius[?], probably northern Italian); Lehman 1962, p. 22 (as Italian master, beginning of the fifteenth century).



No. 24 (reduced)

The Lehman illuminated folio was detached from a *mariegola*, the register of a Venetian lay confraternity, or *scuola*, whose members are shown kneeling at the feet of the standing saints. *Mariegole* (also known as *matricole*) contained the foundation statutes, amendments, and rules of a *scuola*, a list of its members, and sometimes an inventory of its possessions. They typically opened with two facing full-page miniatures, one of them depicting the patron saint of the confraternity, sometimes along with Mark, the patron saint of the city of Venice.³

The two male saints in the Lehman miniature stand against a gold background under two ogival arches with blue edges, red spandrels, a green central section, and gray corbels.⁴ The saint on the left holds a green book and is clad in a blue mantle lined in green over a gold robe. The one on the right wears characteristic pilgrim's dress, consisting of a pink knee-length tunic under a bluish gray mantle slit at the sides and lined in gold, black boots, and a bluish gray hat with a green rim and a round top. He holds in his left hand a yellow pilgrim's staff with a pointed black tip and a model of a church with a gold façade, green walls, a blue roof, and a red and green bell tower with a blue finial. The saints hold between them a cross-shaped staff with a pink banner inscribed *MFA*, either the monogram of the confraternity or, more likely, the abbreviation of the word *MATER*, a reference to the Virgin Mary as mother and universal patron of the Venetian confraternities and of the city itself.⁵ Kneeling in devotion at the right and left are members of the confraternity, one on each side clad in bright red, the others in pink.

The saint on the left, holding a Gospel book, may be identified as Mark, who as the patron saint of the city of Venice was often included in *mariegola* decorations. He shares the banner of the confraternity with Sinibaldus, the patron saint of Nuremberg, officially canonized in 1425 and usually depicted as a middle-aged, bearded pilgrim holding a staff and a model of the church that was dedicated to him in Nuremberg. His presence here, otherwise unusual in Italian art, is explained by the existence of a thriving community of German merchants in Venice who since the twelfth century had had their headquarters in the heart of the city along the Grand Canal, in an imposing warehouse known as the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.⁶ Significantly, in 1385 a copy of the legend of Saint Sinibaldus was sent to Venice by Nuremberg city officials as part of a propagandistic program generally aimed at promoting the cult of the



Fig. 24.1 Cristoforo Cortese, *Funeral of Saint Francis in an Initial A*. Musée Marmottan, Paris, Wildenstein Collection, no. 68

saint abroad, but directed in particular at the large contingent of Nuremberg merchants active in this city.⁷

By 1400, in conjunction with the expansion of German businesses in Venice, there were several *scuole* composed of German merchants, either alone or in association with local workers.⁸ It is therefore possible to suggest that the Lehman illumination could originally have decorated a *mariegola* belonging to a German *scuola*, presumably dedicated to Saint Sinibaldus. In such a case, its headquarters might be traced specifically to the church of San Bartolomeo, located near the Fondaco dei Tedeschi and known as the official German church in Venice, where an altar was dedicated to Saint Sinibaldus in 1434 and his feast duly celebrated.⁹

The Lehman illumination, until now identified vaguely as a work by a fifteenth-century northern Italian artist, bears close comparison to key works by Cristoforo Cortese, such as the signed *Funeral of Saint Francis in an Initial A* (Fig. 24.1)¹⁰ or the unanimously attributed *Virgin of Mercy* (Fig. 24.2) from the *Capitolare* of the Scuola della Santissima Trinità dei Frati Teutonici¹¹ (Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, Paris, nos. 68, 78). Although only the *Funeral of Saint Francis* has similar border decoration, both it and the *Virgin of*



Fig. 24.2 Cristoforo Cortese, *Virgin of Mercy*. From the *Capitolare* of the Scuola della Santissima Trinità dei Frati Teutonici. Musée Marmottan, Paris, Wildenstein Collection, no. 78

Mercy share with the Lehman illumination virtually identical figure types, as well as the loose, calligraphic style of execution that is the signature of the artist. Whereas the *Funeral of Saint Francis* has been assigned various dates between 1420 and 1430,¹² the *Virgin of Mercy* has been more specifically dated to about or slightly later than 1422, the date recorded in the text on its verso, and thus provides a firmer point of reference for the nearly contemporary Lehman illumination.¹³ It is possible to suggest in this regard that the commission for the *Virgin of Mercy*, also executed for a German *scuola*, might have led directly to that for the Lehman illumination, conceivably painted between 1425, the date of Sinibaldus' canonization, and 1434, the date of the dedication of his altar in San Bartolomeo.¹⁴

MLD'A, PP, MFS

NOTES:

1. According to an unsigned, undated note in the Robert Lehman Collection files.
2. In her entry in the Paris catalogue Béguin reported that because of the border decoration Porcher thought this miniature might be the work of an Italian artist working in Toulouse for an Italian client.
3. Bradley 1896, pp. 258, 268–69. For a discussion of the decoration of *mariegole* in Venice, see Salmi 1954, pp. 37–39.
4. The ogival arches are comparable to those characteristic of Venetian Gothic architecture. A similar architectural framing device was used on the *Madonna of Mercy* in the *Mariegola* of the Congregazione del Clero of Santa Maria Formosa, Venice, which Huter (1980, pp. 13, 14, fig. 6) has attributed to Cortese and dated to about 1407.
5. Saint Anthony holds a banner inscribed with the same monogram in a miniature from a manuscript made for the Paduan Confraternity of Saint Anthony of Padua (now Cathedral Library, Hereford) that Huter (1980, p. 15, fig. 8) has attributed to Cortese and dated to about 1430. A similar cross-shaped staff with a banner appears in a sixteenth-century woodcut of a confraternity procession illustrated in P. Brown 1988, p. 18, fig. 6.
6. See Perocco and Salvadori 1976, pp. 791–96.
7. See Kunze 1968. The only other known fifteenth-century image of the saint in Italy is in a panel by the Master of the Osservanza in the Monte dei Paschi Collection, Siena, that was coincidentally also executed for a German patron from Nuremberg (Kaftal 1952, fig. 1055; Gurrieri et al. 1988, pp. 298–302). This image was omitted from Kunze's iconographic list.
8. Pullan 1981, p. 12.
9. See Kunze 1968. Coincidentally, also in this church is the only other known image of the saint in Venice: an organ shutter painted by Sebastiano del Piombo in 1508–9 in which Sinibaldus is shown, as in the Lehman cutting, dressed as a pilgrim and carrying a pointed staff, but with the model of the church in an escutcheon at his feet.
10. P. Toesca 1946–47, pp. 73–74, pl. 7b, c; Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 68.
11. P. Toesca 1946–47, p. 74, pl. 7a; I. Toesca 1952, p. 53; Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 78, ill. Cohen (1985, p. 31, n. 28) appears to be the only scholar who, for unexplained reasons, has questioned the attribution of the *Virgin of Mercy* to Cortese.
12. Cohen 1985, pp. 22, 31, n. 6 (with a summary of other opinions); Mariani Canova in Milan 1988–89, p. 238.
13. In 1986 Levi D'Ancona connected the Lehman illumination with the *Virgin of Mercy* and dated it about 1422.
14. Cortese's contacts with the German community through these commissions might also account for the presence in Nuremberg of a large series of woodcuts illustrating scenes from the Passion, the design of which has been attributed to him and dated to the 1430s (see Rosenthal 1962, pp. 361–62, pl. 32; Mariani Canova 1970, pp. 38–41, figs. 50–52; and Huter 1980, p. 16, fig. 9).

Francesco Morone

Verona 1471–Verona 16 May 1529

Francesco Morone trained with his father, Domenico Morone (ca. 1442–ca. 1517), an established Veronese painter, and was a member of the Confraternity of Saints Siro and Libera in Verona.¹ Like his father, he is known principally as a painter, rather than an illuminator.² (In his discussion of Veronese illuminators – Michele Sanmicheli, Vittore Carpaccio, Fra' Giocondo, Liberale da Verona, and others – Vasari makes no mention of either Domenico or Francesco Morone.) Francesco Morone's work owes a particular stylistic and compositional debt to the altarpieces and Madonnas of Andrea Mantegna and Gentile Bellini, the leading influences on the pictorial arts in the Veneto in the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century.

Among Morone's principal patrons in Verona were the Franciscan monks of the monastery of San Bernardino and the Olivetans (a reformed branch of the Benedictine order) of the monastery of Santa Maria in Organo. At San Bernardino he collaborated with his father on the fresco decoration of the Cappella di Sant'Antonio and the monastic library,³ and on his own he executed other commissions, including the *Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist* for the Cappella della Croce that is signed and dated 1498.⁴ Although he is mentioned in the registers of Santa Maria in Organo only in 1511 and 1515,⁵ Morone was associated with the monastery at least as early as 1503, when he signed and dated the altarpiece *Madonna and Child with Two Bishop Saints, Augustine and Zeno*.⁶ Also for Santa Maria in Organo he and Girolamo Dai Libri collaborated on a frontal for the high altar of the church (for which they received payment in 1514), as well as on frescoes in the crypt and several other documented works, all of which are now lost.⁷ The *Madonna and Child with Saints Anthony Abbot and Onuphrius* in the Bodemuseum, Berlin, which is signed but not dated, has also been associated with Santa Maria in Organo.⁸

A *Madonna and Child with Saints Joseph, Anthony of Padua, Anne, and Francis* in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, is signed by Francesco Morone and dated 1520,⁹ and the fresco *Madonna and Child with Two Saints* in San Fermo Maggiore, Verona, is signed by him and dated 1523.¹⁰ His signature, without a date, appears on numerous other Madonnas, in the Accademia Carrara;¹¹ the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin;¹² the Brera, Milan;¹³ the Museo Civico, Padua;¹⁴ and the Biblioteca Capitolare of Verona Cathedral.¹⁵

At his death, on 16 May 1529, Francesco Morone was buried in a Franciscan habit next to his father in the church of San Bernardino in Verona.¹⁶

NOTES:

1. On Francesco Morone, see Berenson 1968, pp. 281–83, pls. 1326, 1328–32, and Brenzoni 1972, pp. 213–17 (with previous bibliography). On his birth date, see Del Bravo 1962a, p. 58.
2. For the first discussion of Domenico Morone as an illuminator, see Verona 1986–87, pp. 103–12.
3. Brenzoni 1972, p. 215.
4. Del Bravo 1962b, fig. 3.
5. Brenzoni 1972, pp. 216–17.
6. Ibid., p. 215. Berenson (1968, pl. 1328) identified the two bishop saints as Martin and Augustine.
7. Brenzoni 1972, p. 214.
8. Berenson 1968, pl. 1332. According to Brenzoni (1972, p. 214), the signature has been questioned.
9. Rossi 1979, p. 163, ill. p. 173.
10. Brenzoni 1972, p. 215.
11. Rossi 1979, p. 163.
12. Bock et al. 1986, p. 54, ill. p. 426, pl. 1181.
13. Del Bravo 1962b, fig. 6; Brenzoni 1972, p. 214. This *Madonna and Child with Saints Zeno and Nicholas of Bari* is from the church of San Giacomo alla Pigna in Verona.
14. Del Bravo 1962b, fig. 14a, b.
15. Berenson 1968, pl. 1329.
16. Brenzoni 1972, p. 214.

Francesco Morone

ca. 1515

25. Virgin and Child Enthroned Between Saints Cecilia and Catherine of Alexandria

1975.I.2489

Tempera on parchment, with underdrawing in sepia ink.
202 x 144 mm. Inscribed in black ink on the curve of the
bottom step of the throne: *FRANCISCVS MORONVS*; annotated
on the backing: £25.

The miniature has been trimmed within its border and backed with paper. Losses and flaking have occurred throughout, but they are particularly visible in the thinly painted sky and landscape and in the throne and pavement. There are numerous pinpoint losses along the lines of the extensive ink underdrawing that is visible below the pigment surface, especially where losses have occurred, and there is a small hole near the top edge as well as patches of loss on Catherine's wheel and on Cecilia's neck. The more thickly painted areas (most of the foreground) are covered with a fine crackle pattern that is most evident on areas of skin, and in the deep folds of the draperies the thick pigment is flattened.

PROVENANCE: William Young Ottley, London (Ottley sale 1838, lot 230 [to Adamson]);¹ Charles L. Cleveland, Chappaqua, New York; Miriam (Mrs. Charles L.) Cleveland, Chappaqua, New York. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Miriam Cleveland after 1942 or 1943.²

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 178 (as Saints Rose of Viterbo[?] and Catherine, ca. 1510–15); Cincinnati 1959, no. 335, ill. (as Rose of Viterbo[?] and Catherine); Atlanta 1973–74, no. 61, fig. 14 (as Rose of Viterbo[?] and Catherine, ca. 1510–15).

LITERATURE: Tietze-Conrat 1943, pp. 85, 87, fig. 2 (as Saints Dorothy or Rose[?] and Catherine, ca. 1510–15); Del Bravo 1962a, p. 54; Del Bravo 1962b, p. 7; Lehman 1962, p. 22 (as Rose and Catherine); Berenson 1968, p. 282, pl. 1331 (as Rose and Catherine); Eberhardt 1986, pp. 103, 105, 145, n. 3, colorpl. IV.1 (as Cecilia[?] and Catherine).

The Virgin, seated on a high throne, holds the standing Christ Child on her knees. She wears a red robe and a blue mantle lined in green. Two female martyr saints holding palm branches in their right hands flank the central group. Saint Catherine, standing to the right of the throne, wears a bright red mantle over a yellow robe shaded with red in the folds. The saint on the left is crowned with a rose garland and wears a purple robe under a green mantle. *FRANCISCVS MORONVS* is inscribed on the curve of the lowest step of the throne, which is gray with blue and green marbling. The landscape is green with blue mountains in the distance and a gray rock to the left. In the middle ground the same saint who stands to the left of the throne in the foreground holds the hand of a kneeling monk clad in a white habit

and points up the winding road on the hill at the right to a walled complex with a church.

The saint on the left has been identified as Rose of Viterbo, Dorothy, and Cecilia. Saint Rose of Viterbo was not a martyr and so would not have been depicted holding a palm branch, the typical attribute of martyr saints. Saints Dorothy and Cecilia, on the other hand, are both virgin martyrs whose attributes include a palm branch and a crown of roses. That this is Cecilia rather than Dorothy, however, is confirmed by the virtually identical figure of Saint Cecilia standing between the brothers Tiburtius and Valerian in a triptych by Francesco dai Libri that was on an altar in the Veronese church of Santa Cecilia (now Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona).³

Identifying Cecilia as the saint who also appears in the background of the Lehman illumination might provide a clue to its provenance. Given Francesco Morone's close association with the Olivetan monastery of Santa Maria in Organo in Verona, the white-clad monk depicted in the background here may be a member of that order, if not specifically of that monastery.⁴ Eleventh-century documents record the existence in Verona of a *schola sacerdotum* dedicated to the Virgin, Saint Agatha, and Saint Cecilia that was attached to Santa Maria in Organo and was responsible for the religious and cultural education of its monks.⁵ Although Santa Maria in Organo was in the eleventh century still occupied by the Benedictines, it is possible that the Olivetans may have retained such an institution as a school for their own monks when they took over the monastery in the fifteenth century. The vignette with Saint Cecilia guiding a white-robed monk to the walled complex on a distant hill in the Lehman miniature could accordingly be an allusion to the important role of the *scuola*, included at the request of the patron – perhaps a canon or former pupil – who ordered the painting.

The Lehman miniature was conceived as an altarpiece of the *sacra conversazione* type, as a discrete work of art not meant to illustrate the text in a book.⁶ By the sixteenth century many such single illuminations were being produced (see also No. 27). This is the only signed illumination by Francesco Morone, and as such it is of utmost importance. It is not dated, but it was possibly painted late in Morone's career, when his style had



No. 25

mellowed under the influence of Cima da Conegliano. Del Bravo has suggested that the Lehman miniature postdates Andrea Mantegna's *Madonna della Vittoria* of 1496 (Louvre, Paris) and the altarpiece he completed the following year for Santa Maria in Organo (Castello Sforzesco, Milan).⁷ Morone probably painted this small *sacra conversazione* about the same time as the *Madonna and Child* in Verona Cathedral, which Berenson called a late work,⁸ and the *Madonna and Child with Saints Anthony Abbot and Onuphrius* in the Bodemuseum, Berlin, in which the mountainous landscape in the background also serves as the setting for scenes from the two saints' lives.⁹

MLD'A, PP, MFS

NOTES:

1. Tietze-Conrat reported in 1943 (p. 87) that on the back of this miniature "was found a strip of paper with an inscription referring to the Ottley Sale of March 12, 1838, lot 230." Lot 230 of that sale was indeed a "Madonna and Child, seated between St. Catherine and another Female Saint, with Landscape back-ground, by Fran. Moronus" (quoted in Eberhardt 1986, p. 145, n. 3, where he also reports that the sale of lot 230 to a certain Adamson is noted in the copy of the Ottley sale catalogue in the British Library, London).
2. Miriam Cleveland was still in possession of the miniature in the spring of 1942, when she and Robert Lehman corresponded about it (letter of 3 April 1942 from Miriam Cleveland to Robert Lehman and his reply of 8 April, Robert Lehman Collection files), and Tietze-Conrat published it as Mrs. Cleveland's in 1943.
3. Trecca 1912, p. 19, fig. 368. See also Levi D'Ancona 1977, p. 344, no. 17.
4. We thank Maria Francesca Saffiotti for this suggestion.
5. Borelli 1981, p. 296, n. 39.
6. Del Bravo 1962b, p. 7.
7. Ibid.; Del Bravo 1962a, p. 54.
8. Berenson 1968, pl. 1329.
9. Ibid., pl. 1332; Brenzoni 1972, p. 214.

Martino di Giorgio d'Alemagna, called Martino da Modena

Emilia, active 1470–89

Martino da Modena is presumed to have been the son of Giorgio d'Alemagna, a German illuminator who is known to have worked at the ducal court of Leonello and then Borso d'Este in Ferrara from 1441 to 1479 and to have played a minor role, under the supervision of Taddeo Crivelli and Franco dei Russi, in the illumination of the Bible made for Borso d'Este between 1455 and 1461 (Biblioteca Estense, Modena, v.G.12).¹ Martino, a prolific artist whose activity can be dated from 1470 to 1489, became one of the foremost illuminators of his generation at Ferrara.

In the early 1470s Martino da Modena may have traveled to Venice, where he was exposed to the art of Andrea Mantegna. The *Prophet Daniel in a Landscape in an Initial C* on the opening folio of a *mariegola* of the Arte dei Merciai of Venice (matriculation book of the Guild of Haberdashers; Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, Paris, no. 53), dated 1471, has been attributed to him.² In 1473–74 Martino collaborated with his

father on two Psalters that were part of a set of choir books, now partially lost, commissioned by the cathedral of Modena (O.III.4, O.III.5),³ and about the same time he and his father also illuminated a Missal for Ercole I, or possibly Ippolito, d'Este (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, Cod. 2165).⁴ Between 1477 and 1480 Martino illuminated eleven volumes of choir books for the church of San Petronio in Bologna, succeeding Taddeo Crivelli as chief illuminator after Crivelli pawned the parchment he had received for the project and the *operai* of San Petronio had a difficult time buying it back.⁵

In 1480 Martino illuminated a manuscript containing the Office of the Dead for the Ospedale della Buona Morte in Modena.⁶ Between 1483 and 1485 he illuminated an Epistolary, an Evangelary, and a Missal for the cathedral of Modena,⁷ and in 1485–86 he completed a set of Antiphonaries that Evangelista Tedesco and Jacopo Filippo dell'Argenta had begun for the cathedral of Ferrara (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Cor. 7, 8, 13).⁸

Martino da Modena is last recorded in October 1489, when he was listed as a witness in a trial in Ferrara. He may have died shortly thereafter.

NOTES:

1. On Martino da Modena, see Frati 1896; Hermann 1900, pp. 194–201, 261–64; Hermann (1900) 1994, pp. 148–54, 271–73; Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 26–35 (with previous bibliography); Levi D’Ancona 1967; and Milan 1991 (catalogue volume), pp. 143, 190, 354. On Giorgio d’Alemagna, see Hermann (1900) 1994, pp. 231–40, 266–68; Alexander 1977, pp. 76–83, pls. 19–22; and Milan 1991 (essay volume), pp. 98, 104, 106, 112, 114–16, 303 (catalogue volume), nos. 31, 48, 49 (his only documented work, a *Spagna* of 1453 in the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, MS II, 132), 86 (the Missal of Borso d’Este, illuminated by Giorgio d’Alemagna and an anonymous Ferrarese illuminator in 1449–57 [Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Lat. 239 (w.5.2)]).
2. Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 28, 35; Levi D’Ancona 1967, p. 21, fig. 12; Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 53.
3. Dondi 1896, pp. 156–57; Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 26, 34; Milan 1991 (catalogue volume), p. 354.
4. Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 27, 34; Milan 1991 (catalogue volume), pp. 353–54.
5. Frati 1896; Hermann 1900, doc. 216; Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 27, 29–31, 33, 34, n. 7, fig. 30.
6. Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 27, 34–35 (citing an “Ufficio dei Morte”). Venturi (1885, p. 262) first attributed the illumination to Martino da Modena.
7. Dondi 1896, pp. 156–57; Levi D’Ancona 1966, p. 27. The present location of these manuscripts is unknown.
8. Hermann 1900, doc. 260, figs. 60, 61; Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 27, 34; Levi D’Ancona 1967, p. 28, n. 29.

Martino da Modena

1470s

26. David with His Foot in a Noose in an Initial O Cutting from a Gradual

1975.1.2483

Verso: two 4-line staves (stave height 44 mm) with two fragmentary lines of text: “me et mi / i quoni.”

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 187 x 160 mm, initial ground 158 x 157 mm. Traces of red stave lines to the right of the initial ground, traces of ruling for rubrication at the left. Annotated on the verso: at center top, *No. 5* in brown ink; in the bottom left corner, 33 (circled) and 00900 in pencil; at the lower left, 2 in ink(?); in the center, 45 (circled) in light brown ink; at the lower right, A(?) in script that is abraded and now illegible.

The miniature is generally in good condition. It has been trimmed close to the edge of the initial ground on the right, left, and bottom and close to the foliate extension above. There is some dirt on the surface of the sky, and there are losses from abrasion in the gold overall, revealing a terracotta bole. A loss in the landscape in the right foreground has been toned in. Accretions have caused surface irregularities in the lower portion of the letter, and the lead white is darkening on the white highlights of the magenta ribbon at the center bottom. Horizontal distortions through the upper third have resulted in fine cracks with some losses.

PROVENANCE: [Maggs Brothers, London]. Acquired by Robert Lehman from Maggs.¹

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 151 (as Benvenuto di Giovanni, perhaps ca. 1475–83); Cincinnati 1959, no. 330, ill. (as Ferrarese master, second half of the fifteenth century, attributed also to Girolamo da Cremona).

LITERATURE: De Ricci 1937, p. 1712 (as Girolamo da Cremona); Lehman 1962, p. 22 (as Ferrara, attributed to Girolamo da Cremona); Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 33, 35 (as Saint Leonardo[?], attributed to Martino da Modena); Levi D’Ancona 1967, pp. 24–25, fig. 15 (as the Psalmist David); Eberhardt 1986, pp. 103, 104, 108, 145, n. 6, colorpl. IV.5 (as Domenico Morone).

The psalmist, with his left foot in a noose and his right hand pointing upward to the blessing hand of God the Father, stands on rocky gray ground scattered with tufts of green grass. He wears blue boots, crimson stockings, a yellow turban, and a magenta tunic shaded with purple and lined in green that is tied at the waist with a yellow sash. The long sleeves of his tunic hang from the elbows to reveal the red sleeves of his undergarment. In the distance to the left is a rocky mountain with a castle at its



No. 26, recto

summit. The landscape in the far distance at the right is painted in shades of yellow, and the sky is pale grayish blue. God the Father's hand emerges from a red sleeve in a bank of clouds articulated with white highlights. The two halves of the letter O, composed of alternating sections of gray, magenta, and green-and-yellow honeycomb pattern, emerge at the top and bottom from acanthus leaves tied with ribbons. Stylized branches with red berries form a symmetrical arch above the black-edged square gold ground.

The Lehman illumination illustrates Psalm 24:15: "Oculi mei semper ad Dominum quia ipse evellet de laqueo pedes meos" (My eyes are ever toward the Lord: for he shall pluck my feet out of the snare). This text is the Introit to the Mass for the third Sunday of Lent, and the text on the verso is a continuation of the Introit: "[respice in] me et mi[serere] me[um] quoni[am] unicus et pauper sum ego]" (Look thou upon me, and have mercy on me; for I am alone and poor). The initial was therefore cut from the Temporale section of a Gradual.

This miniature has in the past been attributed to Benvenuto di Giovanni of Siena, to Girolamo da Cremona of Ferrara, and most recently, by Eberhardt, to the Veronese painter Domenico Morone, father of Fran-



No. 26, verso

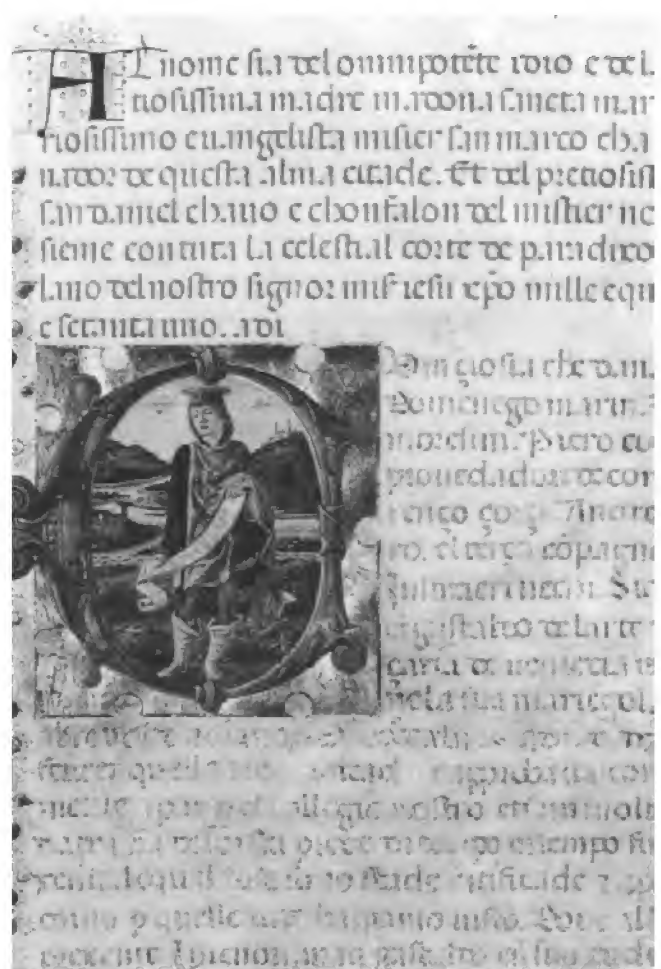


Fig. 26.1 Martino da Modena, *The Prophet Daniel in a Landscape in an Initial C*. *Mariegora* of the Arte dei Merciai, Venice (1471), fol. 1 (detail). Musée Marmottan, Paris, Wildenstein Collection, no. 53

cesco Morone (see No. 25). The illumination is neither Sienese nor Ferrarese, however, and Eberhardt's attribution is problematic because it relies on comparisons with miniatures that bear no relation to Domenico Morone's signed works, none of which are illuminations.² Based on its stylistic similarity to works that can be either documented as his or reasonably attributed to him, I propose ascribing the Lehman *David* to Martino da Modena, who was active in Emilia in the 1470s and 1480s.

David's tight-fitting leggings and the modeling of his wide-cuffed boots, as well as the overall composition, are reminiscent of the *Prophet Daniel in a Landscape in an Initial C* (Fig. 26.1) that opens the *Mariegora* of the Arte dei Merciai of Venice of 1471 (Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan, Paris, no. 53), which



Fig. 26.2 Martino da Modena, *King David Playing the Psaltery in an Initial A*. Gradual I, fol. 1 (detail). Museo e Archivio Storico di San Petronio, Bologna, Cor. 119

can be attributed to Martino.³ The costume with its hanging sleeves, the turbaned head and wrinkled leather boots, and the bent left elbow and foreshortened face and feet are all features the Lehman illumination shares with the *King David* (Fig. 26.2) on folio 1 of Graduale I in San Petronio in Bologna (Cor. 119), for which Martino was paid on 31 August 1478.⁴ The foreshortened head, the bushy full beard, and the position of the right arm are echoed in the bust of the prophet at the left of a bas-de-page (Fig. 26.3) Martino illuminated in a choir book for the cathedral of Ferrara in 1485–86 (Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Cor. 13, fol. 42v).⁵ The medallion in the center of the bas-de-page has two winged putti holding a coat of arms in a landscape with small, rounded bushes rising out of a rocky plateau much like the one in the Lehman initial.

The Lehman illumination seems to date to the early period of Martino's activity, when the influence of Andrea Mantegna on his work was strongest.

MLD'A

NOTES:

1. According to De Ricci (1937, p. 1712) and to an undated, unsigned note in the Robert Lehman Collection files, Robert Lehman obtained this cutting from Maggs, but the information has not been verified.
2. Eberhardt 1986, pp. 103–4, 106–7, figs. iv.2–4 (a *Nativity in an Initial N* in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, and a *Madonna and Child with Four Musical Angels in an Initial S* and an *Ascension* formerly in Berlin).
3. Levi D'Ancona 1966, pp. 28, 35; Levi D'Ancona 1967, p. 21, fig. 12; Musée Marmottan [1980], no. 53.
4. Salmi [1955], pl. 58; Levi D'Ancona 1967, pp. 24–25.
5. Levi D'Ancona 1966, pp. 27, 34.

Fig. 26.3 Martino da Modena, bas-de-page. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Ferrara, Cor. 13, fol. 42v (detail)



Francesco di Marco Marmitta da Parma

Parma 1457(?)–Parma 1505

Vasari praised Francesco Marmitta as a painter and engraver of gems by whom “beautiful things were seen.”¹ Only one work by Marmitta can be documented, a copy of Petrarch’s *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi* in the Landesbibliothek, Kassel (4^o MS poet. et roman. 6), that according to the prefatory poem on folios 9v–10 was written by the scribe Giacomo Giglio and illuminated by Francesco Marmitta.² On the basis of the Petrarch manuscript Toesca attributed to Marmitta the so-called Durazzo Hours, a small Book of Hours formerly in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa and now in the Biblioteca Civica Berio there (Cf. Arm. 1),³ and a Missal that Cardinal Domenico della Rovere commissioned and presented to the cathedral of Turin sometime after he came to the city as an apostolic delegate in 1498 and before his death in 1501 (Museo Civico, Turin, gen. 903, part. 6).⁴ The Della Rovere Missal may predate the Durazzo Hours. Because of their stylistic similarity to the Della Rovere Missal a *Saint Onuphrius in an Initial O* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 269-1949)⁵ and possibly also the two illuminations on folios 14v–15 of the Garzoni Hours (Museo Correr, Venice, Cl. v. 8) can be attributed to Marmitta.⁶

Francesco Marmitta (or Marmitti) was born in Parma, probably in 1457.⁷ His father, Marco Marmitti, was a merchant who traded in wax and wool with Venice. It can be deduced from the Garzoni Hours – not only because the manuscript was made for a Venetian patron but also because his illuminations for it reflect Paduan and Venetian influences – that Marmitta may have been trained as a painter in Venice. Marmitta married Isabella d’Innocenzo Canossa Orefice and had three sons: Ludovico, Jacopo, and Baldassarre.⁸ Ludovico, the eldest, was trained by his father and like him became a painter and an excellent engraver of semiprecious stones.⁹ Francesco Marmitta made his will on 20 September 1496 and died in 1505.

NOTES:

1. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 5, p. 383: “Di costui si vedde molte cose bellissime.”
2. D’Ancona 1907, pp. 27–30, ill.; D’Ancona 1925, p. 63, pl. 56; Hopf and Struck 1930, pp. 105–8, fig. 16; Levi

- D’Ancona 1967, fig. 4; Alexander 1977, pp. 34, 36, 118–19, pl. 40 (as contemporary with or slightly later than the Della Rovere Missal); Pettenati 1990, ills. pp. 62, 64, 85 (color), 101, 104; Bacchi et al. 1995, pp. 61–112, 311–14, no. 3, colorpls. 1–29.
3. P. Toesca 1948, figs. 4–7; Pettorelli 1952, figs. 3, 4; Levi D’Ancona 1967, pp. 11–12, fig. 1; Pettenati 1990, ills. pp. 85–87 (color), 100; Bacchi et al. 1995, pp. 185–252, 308–11, no. 2, colorpls. 93–132.
4. Levi D’Ancona 1967, pp. 14–16, figs. 6, 8; Dykmans 1983, pp. 221–22; Quazza and Pettenati 1985, pp. 690–700, figs. 31–38; Pettenati 1990, ills. pp. 80–85 (color), 98, 99, 102, 103, 106; Bacchi et al. 1995, pp. 113–84, 334–36, colorpls. 30–91.
5. Levi D’Ancona 1967, pp. 14–15, fig. 7; Wormald and Giles 1982, pp. 411–12 (as “in the style of Marmitta”). Wormald and Giles (pp. 116–17) also describe a *Crucifixion* miniature with a jeweled border in the Fitzwilliam (Marlay Cutting It 28) as “in the style of Marmitta.”
6. Levi D’Ancona 1966, pp. 18–21, figs. 13, 14; Levi D’Ancona 1967, pp. 15–21, figs. 9, 10; Benati in Zeri 1987, p. 702. Pettenati (1990, p. 98, n. 54) disagrees with the attribution to Marmitta.
7. On Marmitta’s biography, see Pettorelli 1952 (who cites, among other sources, unpublished manuscript notes by Scarabelli-Zunti, *Documenti e memorie delle belle arti parmigiane*); Benati in Zeri 1987, p. 702; Pettenati 1990; Bacchi et al. 1995; and Zanichelli 1996. There is some doubt about Marmitta’s birth date. Malaspina (1896) lists him as “Marmitta, Francesco, Pittore e Incisore, n. 1457, m. 1505, Celebre” in his index of Parmesan artists but does not give the source of his information. See also Levi D’Ancona 1967, p. 27, n. 17; Quazza and Pettenati 1985, p. 692; Benati in Zeri 1987, p. 702; and note 8 below.
8. On Marmitta’s sons, see Pettorelli 1952, especially pp. 113–15. Malaspina (1896) lists Ludovico as “Marmitta, Lodovico, Pittore e Incisore di gemme, n. 1472, m. 1545, Bravissimo.” If Francesco Marmitta was born in 1457 and Ludovico was born in 1472, however, Francesco would have become a father at the age of fifteen, which seems unlikely. Moreover, there would have been a gap of thirty-two years between Ludovico and his brother Jacopo (Giacomo), who was born on 25 October 1504 and died in Rome in 1561 or 1573. Jacopo and Ludovico were both in Rome in 1545. The third son, Baldassarre, is mentioned in a document dated 12 November 1568.
9. Vasari ([1568] 1878–85, vol. 5, p. 383) mentions Ludovico and his skill as an engraver. A document of 13 February 1526 attests to his having painted a *Virgin with Saints Ilario and Luke* for the Palazzo Comunale of Parma (Pezzana 1859, p. 62, n. 1).

Francesco Marmitta
ca. 1500

27. Adoration of the Shepherds

1975.I.2491

Tempera and gold leaf on parchment. 244 x 152 mm.

The miniature has been trimmed to the inside of the border. It is extremely finely painted, and most areas are beautifully preserved. There are scattered mold spots from water damage, which are most apparent in the sky. The most seriously damaged areas – along the top edge, especially at the center, and along the lower part of the left edge, where the standing shepherd's body has been almost completely destroyed from the neck down – have been toned in, with some repainting. A hole approximately 6 millimeters in diameter below the waist of the angel on the right has been filled, and areas of loss on the left side of the Virgin's robe and in the staff of the standing shepherd have been toned in. Some minor cracking at the lower left has been consolidated.

PROVENANCE: Presumably Pope Clement VII (1523–34); Pope Gregory XIV (1590–91); Christine of Lorraine, grand duchess of Tuscany (1591).

EXHIBITED: Paris 1957, no. 158, pl. 75 (as circle of Lorenzo Costa, close to Francesco Marmitta da Parma); Cincinnati 1959, no. 333, ill. (as Italian master, fifteenth century); Atlanta 1973–74, no. 58, fig. 13 (as follower of Lorenzo Costa).

LITERATURE: Bentivoglio-Ravasio 1992, pp. 102, 122, n. 3 (as Francesco Marmitta?); De Marchi 1992, pp. 1069–70 (as Marmitta); Bacchi et al. 1995, pp. 17, 28, 299, 316, 318, 329, no. 10, figs. 24, 198, colorpl. 148 (as Marmitta, ca. 1495).

The scene of the Adoration of the Shepherds is set in a meadow in front of the cave of the Nativity. The composition has been treated in a manner reminiscent of a large-scale painting. The Virgin, wearing a blue mantle over a gold robe, kneels in the middle ground to the right of the Christ Child, who lies on a white cloth on a mat of wheat that is rolled at one end to pillow his head. Facing the Virgin are two shepherds. One, kneeling, has blondish hair and wears a dark purple tunic under a gold mantle; the other, standing behind him, has gray hair and is dressed in red and blue. Two angels in white robes with green, white, and blue wings kneel behind them, and five angels painted in monochrome gold hover in the sky. Saint Joseph, in a gold robe and a pink-lined green mantle, stands to the right with an angel clad in white, green, and gold who wears a green wreath with a red gem in its center on his head and holds a lily stalk with both hands. A tall shepherd with black curly hair and a short beard and wearing a scanty pink tunic stands at the left, leaning on his staff. In the middle

ground to the left the three Magi and their retinue wend their way toward the Holy Family. In the background beyond the procession a cityscape enclosed by rocky cliffs can be seen on the far side of a winding river with deer standing on its banks.

Depicting the Nativity in a cave, rather than a stable with wooden beams, is an Eastern tradition. The sheaf of wheat under the Christ Child's head is seen frequently in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings. It harks back to the homily in which Saint Gregory the Great explained that Bethlehem means "House of Bread" and that Christ was born in a stable and from hay was changed into wheat so that he could feed all the faithful with his flesh.¹

A long letter written in Latin (with the Italian translation provided at the bottom of the leaf) was once glued to the verso of this miniature (Fig. 27.1).² The letter, written in Rome on 7 February 1591 by M. Vestrius Barbianus and addressed to Christine of Lorraine, grand duchess of Tuscany, states that the enclosed illumination of the Adoration of the Shepherds was found in the Apostolic Palace in Rome among the household goods and is said to have belonged to Pope Clement VII Medici (r. 1523–34). Pope Gregory XIV Sfondrati (r. 1590–91) wished to give the illumination to the grand duchess Christine of Lorraine (1565–1636) on the occasion of her marriage in 1589 to Ferdinand I (1549–1609), grand duke of Tuscany, also of the Medici family. The grand duchess was granted papal indulgences every time she prayed before this image for the triumph of the Church in the struggle against heresy. Unfortunately, the letter does not mention the name of the artist responsible for the exquisite and highly prized illumination.

Such extensive documentation of provenance is unusual for a single miniature. The letter is also interesting because it is evidence that in the late sixteenth century at any rate, the illumination was being used on its own, for private devotion, rather than to illustrate a text. Whether this was its original function is impossible to ascertain, however. According to Vasari, the illuminator Giulio Clovio (1498–1578) was supposed to have introduced the idea of using such small paintings as sacred images, but the Lehman miniature was most likely painted as much as a half century earlier than Clovio's illuminations.³



No. 27 (reduced)

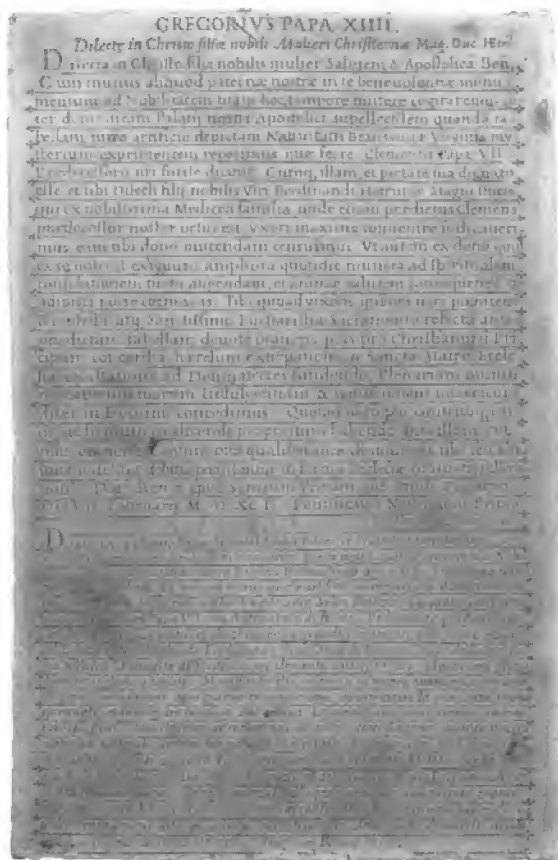


Fig. 27.1 Dedicatory letter written in Rome on 7 February 1591 by M. Vestrius Barbianus on behalf of Pope Gregory XIV Sfondrati to Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine



Fig. 27.2 Francesco Marmitta, *The Triumph of Love*. Petrarch, *Trionfi*, fol. 149v. Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel, 4^o MS poet. et roman. 6

This *Adoration of the Shepherds* has been attributed to the circle of Lorenzo Costa (Ferrara 1460–Mantua 1535) and to Francesco Marmitta da Parma. Both Costa and Marmitta favored thin, elongated figures with small round heads and long legs positioned as if in the steps of a dance. The legs on Marmitta's figures, however, are wirier and less fleshy, like those of the figures in the Lehman illumination. The way the figures' hair is depicted as a dense mass growing from the back of the head like a wig and the landscape of flat plateaus and rounded rocky mounds in this miniature are also reminiscent of Marmitta's work, for instance the *Triumph of Love* (Fig. 27.2) on folio 149v of the copy of Petrarch's *Trionfi* in the Landesbibliothek, Kassel (4^o MS poet. et roman. 6), which is prefaced by a poem that names him as its illuminator, and *David Playing the Harp in an Initial A* (Fig. 27.3) on the first illuminated folio of the Missal of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere (Museo Civico, Turin, gen. 903, part. 6, fol. 8), which can be dated to between 1498 and 1501.⁴

Although the left side of the landscape in the Kassel *Triumph of Love* is rendered in more economical terms than the landscape in the Lehman miniature, in both the scene is divided asymmetrically by a perpendicular rocky mound that fills the right side of the composition, and in both nearly leafless bushes grow almost horizontally from cracks in the rocks. The figures are also extremely similar. Joseph's long, flat feet resemble those

of the reclining figure in the *Triumph of Love*, and the wiry legs of the shepherd standing at the left are like those of the orange-clad figure standing at the right in the Kassel illumination. The head of the angel to the left of the cave resembles the woman with the white head covering standing third from the right in the Kassel illumination. Joseph's balding head is reminiscent of several of the heads in the border of the opening folio of the Della Rovere Missal (Fig. 27.3), especially the third from the bottom at the right. In its figure types and composition this *Adoration of the Shepherds* also resembles another version of the same subject (Fig. 27.4) that Marmitta painted for the so-called Durazzo Hours in the Biblioteca Civica Berio in Genoa (Cf. Arm. 1, fol. 58).⁵ All this argues strongly for considering the Lehman miniature one of Francesco Marmitta's finest and most beautiful works.

MLD'A



Fig. 27.3 Francesco Marmitta, *David Playing the Harp in an Initial A*. Missal of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, fol. 8 (detail). Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, Turin, gen. 903, part. 6



Fig. 27.4 Francesco Marmitta, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Durazzo Hours, fol. 58. Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa, Sezione di Conservazione, Cf. Arm. 1. Photograph: Enrico Polidori, Genoa

NOTES:

1. Gregory the Great, *Homilia VIII in die Natalis Domini*, in Migne PL, 76.1104; see Levi D'Ancona 1977, pp. 363, 403, nos. 151.1, 166.4.
2. The letter reads:

GREGORIUS PAPA XIII. Dilectę in Christo filię nobili Mulieri Christiernę Mag. Duc. Hetr[ur]iæ. Dilecta in Christo filia nobilis mulier Salutem & Apostolica[m] Ben[edictionem]. Cum munus aliquod paternę nostrę in te benevolentię monumentum ad Nobilitatem tuam hoc tempore mittere cogitarem inter domesticam Palatii nostri Apostolici supellectilem quanda[m] tabelam miro artificio depictam Nativitatis Beatissimę Virginis mysterium exprimentem reperimus, quę fe: re: Clementis Papę VII. Prędecessoris n[ost]ri fuisse dicitur. Cumq[ue] illam, et pietate tua dignam esse, et tibi Dilecti filii nobilis Viri Ferdinandi Hetrurię Magni Ducis qui ex nobilissima Medicea familia, unde etiam prędictus Clemens prędecessor noster ortus est, uxori maxime convenire iudicaverimus, eam tibi dono mittendam censuimus. Ut autem ex dono, quod ex se non est exiguum,

ampliora quotidie munera ad spiritualem consolationem tuam augendam, et animæ salutem consequenda[m] te adipisci posse cognoscas. Tibi quo ad vixeris, quoties vere pœnitens & confessa, atq[ue] Sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento refecta ante prædictam tabellam devote oraveris, pias pro Christianoru[m] Pri[n]cipum concordia, hæresum extirpatione, ac Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ exaltatione ad Deum preces fundendo, Plenariam omniu[m] peccatorum tuorum Indulgentiam, & remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Quoties vero pio, contritoq[ue] corde, ac firmum confitendi propositum habendo ante illam, ut p'tur, oraveris, Centum Dies qualibet vice de iniunctis tibi, seu alias quomodolibet debitis pœnitentiis in forma Ecclesiæ consueta relaxamus. Dat[um] Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Anulo Piscatoris Die VII. Februarii M. D. XC.I. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

M. Vestrius Barbianus.

Dilecta in Christo figliuola nobil donna Salute, et Apostolica Benedittione. Mentre che andavamo pensando di mandare in questo tempo qualche presente alla Nobiltà v[ost]ra, per ricordanza della nostra Paterna Benevolenza verso di lei. Abbiamo trovato questa Tavoletta, dipinta con meraviglioso artificio, che rappresenta il Misterio della Beat[issi]ma V[er]gine fra le domestic masseritie del nostro Ap[osto]lico Palazzo, La quale si dice essere stata di Clemente Papa VII. n[ost]ro Antecessore di fe: me: Et havendo giudicato che

sia degna della sua pietà, et che si co[n] venga grandissimamente a lei, come moglie del Diletto, & Nobil figliuolo Ferdinando Gran Duca di Toscana nato della medesima Nobiliss[im]a Famiglia de Medici, come clemente antecessor n[ost]ro. Abbiamo pe[n]sato di mandargliela a donare. Ma affinche ella cognosca di potere ottenere da q[u]esto dono che per se non è piccolo, ogni giorno maggior doni, ad accrescere la sua consolatione spirituale, et conseguire la salute dell'anima, Le concediamo misericordiosamente nel Sig[no]re Plen[a]ria Indulgenza, et remissione de' suoi peccati fin tanto, quanto viverà ciascuna volta che veramente pentita, confessata, et comunicata farà divotame[n]te oratione avanti a questa Tavoletta, pregando piamente IDDIO per la concordia de Principi Christiani, per la stirpatione dell'heresie, & per l'essaltatione della S[an]ta Madre Chiesa: Et ogni volta che ella fara oratione con pietoso e contrito cuore, et con haver fermo proposito di confessarsi, le relassiamo per ciascuna volta cento giorni delle penitenze impostele, o in altro modo dovutele, seco[n]do la solita forma di Santa Chiesa. Dat[um] in Roma etc.

3. Vasari (1568) 1878–85, vol. 7, pp. 557–69; Levi D'Ancona (1950) 1959a, p. 75, n. 6.
4. Pettenati 1990, ill. pp. 62, 81 (color); Bacchi et al. 1995, colorpls. 10, 30; and see notes 2 and 4 in the biography of Marmitta above.
5. Pettenati 1990, ill. p. 100; Bacchi et al. 1995, colorpl. 114; and see note 3 in the biography of Marmitta above.

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